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THE WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

VOL. I.

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WASHINGTON.

Æt. 40.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF G.W.P. CUSTIS, ESQR.

AT ARLINGTON HOUSE.

THE

WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON;

BEING HIS

CORRESPONDENCE, ADDRESSES, MESSAGES, AND OTHER PAPERS,
OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE,

SELECTED AND PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS;

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

By JARED SPARKS.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

The plan of this work, and the manner of executing it, are fully explained in the Introductions to the First and Second Parts. A few particulars only remain to be added.

The large mass of papers, which accumulated in the hands of Washington during the long period of his public life, as well as those of a private nature, were carefully preserved by him at Mount Vernon. By his will he left the estate at Mount Vernon and all his papers to his nephew, Bushrod Washington, who was for more than thirty years one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Ten years ago these manuscripts were placed in my possession by Judge Washington, for the purpose of preparing for the press and publishing the work, which is now brought to a conclusion and submitted to the public. The original papers, including Washington's own letters and those received by him, and amounting to more than

two hundred folio volumes, have recently been purchased by Congress, and are deposited in the archives of the Department of State at the seat of government.

With these materials, it will readily be supposed, the work might have been extended to a much larger number of volumes. A limit was fixed, which it was believed would embrace all the most valuable parts of Washington's writings, and at the same time not trespass too much on the means of purchasers. The task of selection has not been without its difficulties. I feel bound to say, however, that any errors in this respect should be attributed to defects of judgment, and not to carelessness or negligence. Neither time, expense, nor labor in examination, has been spared.

In regard to the text, also, it is proper here to repeat what has been said in another place, that frequent embarrassments have occurred. It was Washington's custom, in all his letters of importance, first to write drafts, which he transcribed. In making the transcripts he sometimes deviated from the drafts, omitting, inserting, and altering parts of sentences; nor did he always correct the drafts, so as to make them accord with the letters

as sent to his correspondents. These imperfect drafts were laid aside, and from time to time copied by an amanuensis into the letter-books. Hence the drafts, as now recorded, do not in all cases agree precisely with the originals that were sent away. My researches have brought under my inspection many of these original letters. Regarding them as containing the genuine text, I have preferred it to that in the letter-books, and it has accordingly been adopted whenever it could be done. But the discrepances are of little moment, relating to the style, and not to the substance. For the most part I have been obliged to rely on the letter-books; and, for the reasons here mentioned, it is probable that the printed text may not in every particular be the same as in the originals, that is, the corrected copies, which were sent to his correspondents. These remarks apply chiefly to private letters, written when Washington was at Mount Vernon, and to those written during the French war. In the periods of the Revolution and the Presidency, much more exactness was observed; and, as far as my examination has extended, there is generally a literal accordance between the original letters and the transcripts in the letter-books.

The materials for the Notes and Appendixes have been collected from a great variety of sources, which it would be impossible, within the limits of a preface, either to describe or enumerate. Avoiding historical disquisitions, reflections, and remarks not connected with the immediate purpose, the object has been to explain the writings and acts of Washington. The illustrations supplied by the notes and appendixes, being derived almost wholly from unpublished manuscripts, may justly claim to be considered as authentic, and as new contributions to history.

Letters in foreign languages, and extracts from such letters, have been translated, for the convenience of every class of readers. It will be easy to ascertain what passages are translated, by the names of the writers, who were foreigners, and whose names are mentioned. Lafayette wrote to Washington and to other American officers in English; but his letters to the French ministry and to foreign officers were in his native tongue. The letters from Count de Rochambeau to Washington were likewise usually in English, having been translated by a secretary, who understood that language.

To General Lafayette I have been under

very great obligations for the papers and information with which he furnished me, and for the assistance he rendered in facilitating my researches in the archives at Paris. Copies of numerous papers relating to the American Revolution, and a copy of his whole correspondence with the French government, which was procured from the public offices, he intrusted to my charge, with the permission to publish any parts, or the whole, in such form and manner as my judgment should dictate. The use that has been made of them, and their value, will appear throughout these volumes.

The public generally, not less than the Editor of this work, is indebted to Lord Holland for a very curious and interesting paper, which will be found in the Appendix to the Sixth Volume, and which consists of extracts from a correspondence between George the Third and Lord North relative to the American war. These extracts were selected by Lord Holland from the manuscripts of Sir James Mackintosh, and they certainly form the most remarkable document connected with the history of the Revolution.

My thanks are due to Mr. Justice Story for the lively interest he has manifested in my labors, and for the benefit I have often

derived from his suggestions and advice. To Mr. Samuel A. Eliot, also, I would here make a public acknowledgment of the substantial and valuable aid he has in various ways lent to my undertaking, the successful issue of which has been promoted in no small degree by his friendly offices and personal exertions.

Copious Indexes are added to the last Volume, in constructing which much care has been bestowed and much difficulty encountered, particularly in regard to names and dates; but it is hoped, that a good measure of accuracy has been attained, and that they will furnish all the facilities to readers, which could be expected in a work of such variety and extent.

In writing the Life of Washington, which is comprised in the First Volume, I have endeavoured to follow closely the order of time, adopting the plan of a personal narrative, and introducing collateral events no farther than was absolutely necessary to give completeness to this design. After the able, accurate, and comprehensive work of Chief Justice Marshall, it would be presumptuous to attempt a historical biography of Washington. Yet it must be kept in mind, that

much the larger portion of his life was passed on a conspicuous public theatre, and that no account of it can be written, which will not assume essentially the air of history. Anecdotes are interwoven, and such incidents of a private and personal nature as are known; but it must be confessed, that these are more rare than could be desired. I have seen many particulars of this description which I knew not to be true, and others which I did not believe. These have been avoided; nor have I stated any fact for which I was not convinced there was credible authority. If this forbearance has been practised at the expense of the reader's entertainment, he must submit to the sacrifice as due to truth and the dignity of the subject.

During the progress of this work, its two earliest patrons and best friends, Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall, have died. Their character and deeds are recorded in the annals of their country, and are too well known and highly valued to need any eulogy in this place; but I should do equal injustice to their memory and to my own feelings, if I were not to acknowledge with gratitude the encouragement and assistance I received from their kindness, counsel, and coöperation.

July, 1837.

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LIFE

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Washington Family.—John and Lawrence Washington emigrate to America.—Birth of George Washington.—His early Education.—His Fondness for mathematical Studies and athletic Amusements, and his methodical Habits.—A Project formed for his entering the British Navy as a Midshipman.—He becomes a practical Surveyor.—Engages in the Employment of Lord Fairfax.—Continues the Business of Surveying for three Years.—Appointed Adjutant of one of the Districts in Virginia.—Voyage to Barbadoes with his Brother.

The name of Washington, as applied to a family, is proved from authentic records to have been first known about the middle of the thirteenth century. There was previously a manor of that name in the County of Durham, in England, the proprietor of which, according to a custom not unusual in those days, took the name of his estate. From this gentleman, who was originally called William de Hertburn, have descended the branches of the Washington family, which have since spread themselves over various parts of Great Britain and America.

Few individuals of the family have attained to such eminence in the eye of the public, as to give perpetuity to the memory of their deeds or their character; yet, in the local histories of England, the name is frequently mentioned with respect, and as denoting

persons of consideration, wealth, and influence. Among them were scholars, divines, and lawyers, well known to their cotemporaries. Several received the honors of knighthood. Sir Henry Washington is renowned for his bravery and address in sustaining the siege of Worcester against the Parliamentary forces during the civil wars, and is commended by Clarendon for his good conduct at the taking of Bristol. For the most part it would appear, however, from such facts as can now be ascertained, that the heads of families were substantial proprietors of lands, residing on their estates, and holding a reputable station in the higher class of agriculturists. Proofs of their opulence may still be seen in the monuments erected in churches, and the records of the transfer of property.

In the year 1538, the manor of Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire, was granted to Lawrence Washington, of Gray's Inn, and for some time Mayor of Northampton. He was probably born at Warton, in Lancashire, where his father lived. The grandson of this first proprietor of Sulgrave, who was of the same name, had many children, two of whom, that is, John and Lawrence Washington, being the second and fourth sons, emigrated to Virginia about the year 1657, and settled at Bridge's Creek, on the Potomac River, in the County of Westmoreland. The eldest brother, Sir William Washington, married a half-sister of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Lawrence had been a student at Oxford. John had resided on an estate at South Cave in Yorkshire, which gave rise to an erroneous tradition among his descendants, that their ancestor came from the North of England. The two brothers bought lands in Virginia, and became successful planters.

John Washington, not long after coming to Ameri-

ca, was employed in a military command against the Indians, and rose to the rank of Colonel. The parish in which he lived was also named after him. He married Anne Pope, by whom he had two sons, Lawrence and John, and a daughter. The elder son, Lawrence, married Mildred Warner, of Gloucester County, and had three children, John, Augustine, and Mildred.

Augustine Washington, the second son, was twice married. His first wife was Jane Butler, by whom he had three sons and a daughter; Butler, who died in infancy, Lawrence, Augustine, and Jane, the last of whom died likewise when a child. By his second wife, Mary Ball, to whom he was married on the 6th of March, 1730, he had six children, GEORGE, Betty, Samuel, John Augustine, Charles, and Mildred. GEORGE WASHINGTON was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 22d of February, 1732, being the eldest son by the second marriage, great-grandson of John Washington, who emigrated to America, and the sixth in descent from the first Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave.

At the time of George Washington's birth, his father resided near the banks of the Potomac in Westmoreland County; but he removed not long afterwards to an estate owned by him in Stafford County, on the east side of the Rappahannoc River, opposite Fredericksburg. Here he lived till his death, which happened, after a sudden and short illness, on the 12th of April, 1743, at the age of forty-nine. He was buried at Bridge's Creek, in the tomb of his ancestors. Little is known of his character or his acts. It appears by his will, however, that he possessed a large and valuable property in lands; and, as this had been acquired chiefly by his own industry and enterprise, it may be inferred, that, in the concerns of business, he

was methodical, skilful, honorable, and energetic. His occupation was that of a planter, which, from the first settlement of the country, had been the pursuit of nearly all the principal gentlemen of Virginia.

Each of his sons inherited from him a separate plantation. To the eldest, Lawrence, he bequeathed an estate near Hunting Creek, afterwards Mount Vernon, which then consisted of twenty-five hundred acres; and also other lands, and shares in iron-works situated in Virginia and Maryland, which were productive. The second son had for his part an estate in Westmoreland. To George were left the lands and mansion where his father lived at the time of his decease; and to each of the other sons an estate of six or seven hundred acres. The youngest daughter died when an infant, and for the only remaining one a suitable provision was made in the will. It is thus seen, that Augustine Washington, although suddenly cut off in the vigor of manhood, left all his children in a state of comparative independence. Confiding in the prudence of the mother, he directed that the proceeds of all the property of her children should be at her disposal, till they should respectively come of age.

This weighty charge of five young children, the eldest of whom was eleven years old, the superintendence of their education, and the management of complicated affairs, demanded no common share of resolution, resource of mind, and strength of character. In these important duties Mrs. Washington acquitted herself with great fidelity to her trust, and with entire success. Her good sense, assiduity, tenderness, and vigilance overcame every obstacle; and, as the richest reward of a mother's solicitude and toil, she had the happiness to see all her children come forward with a fair promise into life, filling the sphere allotted to

them in a manner equally honorable to themselves, and to the parent who had been the only guide of their principles, conduct, and habits. She lived to witness the noble career of her eldest son, till by his own rare merits he was raised to the head of a nation, and applauded and revered by the whole world. It has been said, that there never was a great man, the elements of whose greatness might not be traced to the original characteristics or early influence of his mother. If this be true, how much do mankind owe to the mother of Washington.

Under the colonial governments, particularly in the southern provinces, the means of education were circumscribed. The thinness of population, and the broad line which separated the rich from the poor, prevented the establishment of schools on such a basis as would open the door of instruction to all classes, and thus prepare the way for higher seminaries of learning. Young men destined for the learned professions, whose parents could afford the expense, were occasionally sent to England. But the planters generally sought no other education for their sons, than such as would fit them to be practical men of business. In a few cases, this was derived from a private tutor; in others, from a teacher of the common schools, whose qualifications would naturally be limited to the demands of his employers, and who was seldom competent to impart more than the simplest elements of knowledge. When he had inculcated the mysteries of reading, writing, arithmetic, and keeping accounts, his skill was exhausted, and the duties of his vocation were fulfilled. If his pupils aspired to higher attainments, they were compelled to leave their master behind, and find their way without a guide.

To a school of this description was George Wash-

ington indebted for all the aids his mind received in its early discipline and culture. How far he profited by these slender advantages, or was distinguished for his application and love of study, can only be conjectured from the results. Tradition reports, that he was inquisitive, docile, and diligent; but it adds, that his military propensities and passion for active sports displayed themselves in his boyhood; that he formed his schoolmates into companies, who paraded, marched, and fought mimic battles, in which he was always the commander of one of the parties. He had a fondness for the athletic amusements of running, jumping, wrestling, tossing bars, and other feats of agility and bodily exercise. Indeed it is well known, that these practices were continued by him after he had arrived at the age of mature life. It has also been said, that while at school his probity and demeanor were such, as to win the deference of the other boys, who were accustomed to make him the arbiter of their disputes, and never failed to be satisfied with his judgment. Such are some of the incidents of his juvenile years, remembered and related by his cotemporaries after he had risen to greatness.

There are not wanting evidences of his early proficiency in some branches of study. His manuscript school-books, from the time he was thirteen years old, have been preserved. He had already mastered the difficult parts of arithmetic, and these books begin with geometry. But there is one, of a previous date, which deserves notice, as giving an insight into the original cast of his mind, and the subjects to which his education was directed. It is singular, that a boy of thirteen should occupy himself in studying the dry and intricate forms of business, which are rarely attended to till the affairs of life call them into use, and even

then rather as an act of necessity than of pleasure. But many pages of the manuscript in question are taken up with copies of what he calls *Forms of Writing*, such as notes of hand, bills of exchange, receipts, bonds, indentures, bills of sale, land warrants, leases, deeds, and wills, written out with care, the prominent words in large and varied characters in imitation of a clerk's hand. Then follow selections in rhyme, more distinguished for the sentiments they contain, and the religious tone that pervades them, than for their poetical beauties.

But the most remarkable part of the book is that, in which is compiled a system of maxims, and regulations of conduct, drawn from miscellaneous sources, and arranged under the head of *Rules of Behaviour in Company and Conversation.* Some of these are unimportant, and suited only to form the habits of a child; others are of a higher import, fitted to soften and polish the manners, to keep alive the best affections of the heart, to impress the obligation of the moral virtues, to teach what is due to others in the social relations, and above all to inculcate the practice of a perfect self-control.

In studying the character of Washington it is obvious, that this code of rules had an influence upon his whole life. His temperament was ardent, his passions strong, and, amidst the multiplied scenes of temptation and excitement through which he passed, it was his constant effort and ultimate triumph to check the one and subdue the other. His intercourse with men, private and public, in every walk and station, was marked with a consistency, a fitness to occasions, a dignity, decorum, condescension, and mildness, a respect for the claims of others, and a delicate perception of the nicer shades of civility, which were not more the dic-

tates of his native good sense and incomparable judgment, than the fruits of a long and unwearied discipline.

He left school in the autumn preceding his sixteenth birth-day. The last two years had been devoted to the study of geometry, trigonometry, and surveying, for which he had a decided partiality. It is probable, also, that his friends, discovering this inclination, encouraged him in yielding to it, with the view of qualifying him for the profession of a surveyor, which was then a lucrative employment, and led to opportunities of selecting valuable new lands. During the last summer he was at school, we find him surveying the fields around the school-house and in the adjoining plantations, of which the boundaries, angles, and measurements, the plots and calculations, are entered with formality and precision in his books.

Nor was his skill confined to the more simple processes of the art. He used logarithms, and proved the accuracy of his work by different methods. The manuscripts fill several quires of paper, and are remarkable for the care with which they were kept, the neatness and uniformity of the handwriting, the beauty of the diagrams, and a precise method and arrangement in copying out tables and columns of figures.

These particulars will not be thought too trivial to be mentioned, when it is known, that he retained similar habits through life. His business papers, day-books, legers, and letter-books, in which before the revolution no one wrote but himself, exhibit specimens of the same studious care and exactness. Every fact occupies a clear and distinct place, the handwriting is round and regular, without interlineations, blots, or blemishes; and, if mistakes occurred, the faulty words were so skilfully erased and corrected, as to render the defect invisible except to a scrutinizing

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Copied from a Manuscript in the handwriting of Washington.

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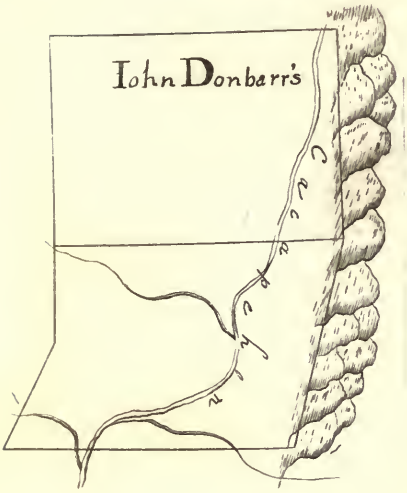

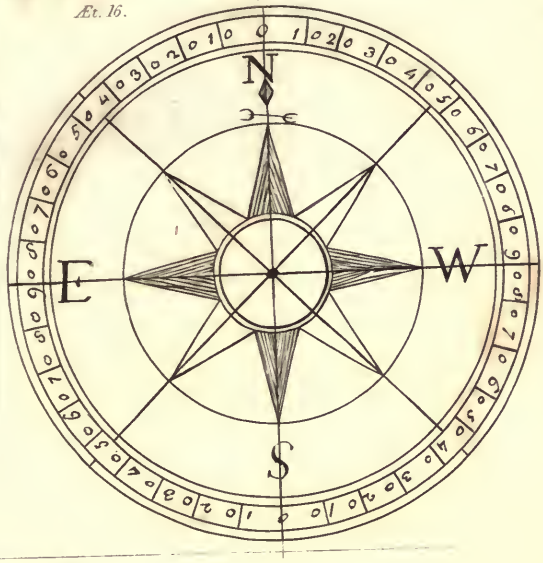

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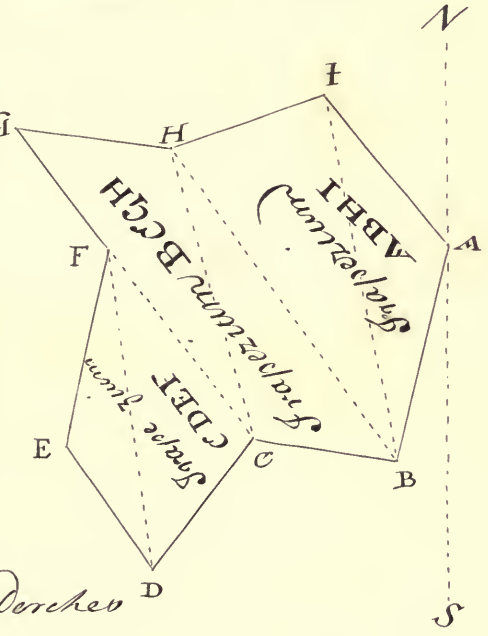

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eye. The constructing of tables, diagrams, and other figures relating to numbers or classification, was an exercise in which he seems at all times to have taken much delight. If any of his farms were to be divided into new lots, a plan was first drawn on paper; if he meditated a rotation of crops, or a change in the mode of culture, the various items of expense, labor, products, and profits were reduced to tabular forms; and in his written instructions to his managers, which were annually repeated, the same method was pursued.

While at the head of the army this habit was of especial service to him. The names and rank of the officers, the returns of the adjutants, commissaries, and quartermasters, were compressed by him into systematic tables, so contrived as to fix strongly in his mind the most essential parts, without being encumbered with details. When the army was to march, or perform any movements requiring combination and concert, a scheme was first delineated; and at the beginning of an active campaign, or in the preparation for a detached enterprise, the line of battle was projected and sketched on paper, each officer being assigned to his post, with the names of the regiments and strength of the forces he was to command.

During the presidency it was likewise his custom to subject the treasury reports and accompanying documents to the process of tabular condensation, with a vast expenditure of labor and patience; but it enabled him to grasp and retain in their order a series of isolated facts, and the results of a complicated mass of figures, which could never have been mastered so effectually by any other mode of approaching them. Such were some of the benefits of those parts of his

education, to which he was led by the natural bent of his mind.

Except the above branches of the mathematics, his acquirements did not extend beyond the subjects usually taught to boys of his age at the common schools. It is even doubtful whether he received any instruction in the principles of language. His earliest compositions were often faulty in grammatical construction. By practice, reading, and study, he gradually overcame this defect, till at length he wrote with accuracy, purity of idiom, and a striking appropriateness of phraseology and clearness of style. In the choice of his words, to express precisely and forcibly his meaning, he was always scrupulous. In this respect his language may be said to have reflected the image of his mind, in which candor, sincerity, and directness were prevailing traits.

No aid was derived from any other than his native tongue. He never even commenced the study of the ancient classics. After the French officers had joined the American army in the revolution, and particularly while the forces under Count Rochambeau were in the country, he bestowed some degree of attention on that language; but at no time could he write or converse in it, or indeed translate any paper.

While at school a project was entertained by his friends, which, if it had been matured, would have changed his own destiny, and perhaps have produced an important influence upon that of his country. His eldest brother, Lawrence, had been an officer in the late war, and served at the siege of Carthagena and in the West Indies. Being a well-informed and accomplished gentleman, he had acquired the esteem and confidence of General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon, the commanders of the expedition, with whom

he afterwards kept up a friendly correspondence. Having observed the military turn of his young brother, and looking upon the British navy as the most direct road to distinction in that line, he obtained for George a midshipman's warrant, in the year 1746, when he was fourteen years old. This step was taken with his acquiescence, if not at his request, and he prepared with a buoyant spirit for his departure; but, as the time approached, the solicitude of his mother interposed with an authority, to which nature gave a claim.

At this critical juncture, Mr. Jackson, a friend of the family, wrote to Lawrence Washington as follows. "I am afraid Mrs. Washington will not keep up to her first resolution. She seems to dislike George's going to sea, and says several persons have told her it was a bad scheme. She offers several trifling objections, such as fond, unthinking mothers habitually suggest; and I find, that one word against his going has more weight than ten for it." She persisted in opposing the plan, and it was given up. Nor ought this decision to be ascribed to obstinacy, or maternal weakness. This was her eldest son, whose character and manners must already have exhibited a promise, full of solace and hope to a widowed mother, on whom alone devolved the charge of four younger children. To see him separated from her at so tender an age, exposed to the perils of accident and the world's rough usage, without a parent's voice to counsel or a parent's hand to guide, and to enter on a theatre of action, which would for ever remove him from her presence, was a trial of her fortitude and sense of duty, which she could not be expected to hazard without reluctance and concern.

Soon after leaving school, he went to reside with his brother Lawrence at his seat on the Potomac River,

which had been called Mount Vernon, in compliment to the admiral of that name. The winter was passed in his favorite study of the mathematics, and in the exercise of practical surveying, merely with the view of becoming familiar with the application of principles and the use of instruments. At this time he was introduced to Lord Fairfax, and other members of the Fairfax family, established in that part of Virginia.

Lawrence Washington had married a daughter of William Fairfax, a gentleman of consideration on account of his wealth, character, and political station, being many years a member and for some time president of his Majesty's Council in the Colony. His seat was at Belvoir, a short distance from Mount Vernon. He had an interesting family of several sons and daughters, intelligent and cultivated, with whom George associated on terms of intimacy, and formed attachments that were ever after valuable to him. In the father he found a friend and adviser, as well as a man skilled in affairs, of wide experience, and of an enlightened understanding. To his fortunate acquaintance with this family he was mainly indebted for the opportunities of performing those acts, which laid the foundation of his subsequent successes and advancement.

Lord Fairfax, a distant relative of William Fairfax, was a man of an eccentric turn of mind, of great private worth, generous, and hospitable. He had been accustomed to the best society to which his rank entitled him in England. While at the University of Oxford he had a fondness for literature, and his taste and skill in that line may be inferred from his having written some of the papers in the *Spectator*. Possessing by inheritance a vast tract of country, situate between the Potomac and Rappahannoc Rivers, and stretching across the Allegany Mountains, he made a

voyage to Virginia to examine this domain. So well pleased was he with the climate and mode of life, that he resolved, after going back to England and arranging his affairs, to return and spend his days in the midst of this wild territory.

At the time of which we are now speaking, he had just arrived to execute his purpose, and was residing with his relative at Belvoir. This was his home for several years; but he at length removed over the Blue Ridge, built a house in the Shenandoah valley, called *Greenway Court*, and cultivated a large farm. Here he lived in comparative seclusion, often amusing himself with hunting, but chiefly devoted to the care of his estate, to acts of benevolence among his tenants, and to such public duties as devolved upon him, in the narrow sphere he had chosen; a friend of liberty, honored for his uprightness, esteemed for the amenity of his manners and his practical virtues. He died at the advanced age of ninety-two, near the close of the American revolution.

William Fairfax was born in England. He joined the army in early life, and served in Spain; went next to the East Indies, and afterwards took part in an expedition against the Island of New Providence. He was successively governor of that Island, and chief justice of the Bahamas; and was thence transferred at his request to an office in New England. While there, he yielded to the solicitation of Lord Fairfax to take the agency of his affairs in Virginia, and had been several years in that employment, when the latter assumed the charge into his own hands.

The immense tracts of wild lands, belonging to Lord Fairfax in the rich valleys of the Allegany Mountains, had not been surveyed. Settlers were finding their way up the streams, selecting the fertile places,

and securing an occupancy without warrant or license. To enable the proprietor to claim his quitrents and give legal titles, it was necessary that those lands should be divided into lots and accurately measured. So favorable an opinion had he formed of the abilities and attainments of young Washington, that he intrusted to him this responsible service; and he set off on his first surveying expedition in March, just a month from the day he was sixteen years old, accompanied by George Fairfax, the eldest son of William Fairfax.

The enterprise was arduous, requiring discretion and skill, and attended with privations and fatigues to which he had not been accustomed. After crossing the first range of the Alleganies, the party entered a wilderness. From that time their nights were passed under the open sky, or in tents or rude cabins affording but a treacherous shelter against the inclemency of the weather. The winds sometimes beat upon them, and prostrated them to the ground. Winter still lingered on the summits of the mountains; the rivers, swollen by melting snows and recent rains, were impassable at the usual fords, except by swimming the horses; the roads and paths through the woods were obstructed by swamps, rocks, and precipices. The lands surveyed by him lay on the South Branch of the Potomac, seventy miles above its junction with the other branch of that river.

The task was executed in such a manner, as to give entire satisfaction to his employer, confirm the good opinion of his friends, and establish his reputation as a surveyor. On other accounts it was beneficial to him. It inspired a confidence in himself, kindled fresh hopes, and prepared the way for new successes. He had moreover acquired a knowledge of parts of the country hitherto little known, which were to be

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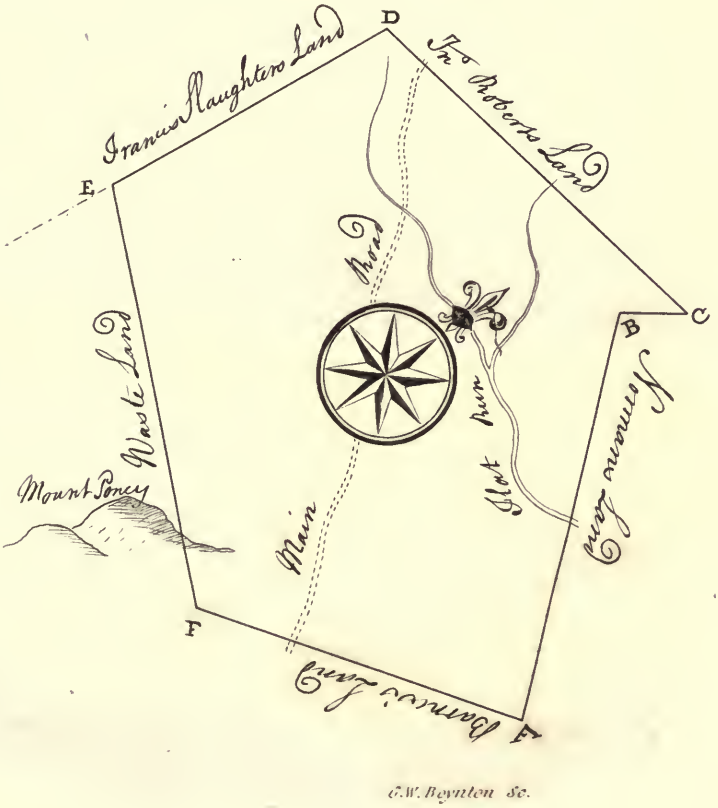


the scene of his first military operations; and had witnessed modes of life, with which it was necessary for him to become familiar in fulfilling the high trusts that awaited him. During this expedition he was also present at an Indian war-dance, and had his first interview with a race, on whose condition in peace and war he was to have a wider influence than any other man.

Having received a commission, or appointment, as a public surveyor, which gave authority to his surveys and enabled him to enter them in the county offices, he devoted three years to this pursuit, without any intervals of relaxation except the winter months. Portions of each year were passed among the Alleganies, where he surveyed lands on branches of the Potomac River, which penetrated far in a southern direction among the lofty ridges and spurs of those mountains. The exposures and hardships of these expeditions could be endured only for a few weeks together. As a relief, he would come down into the settled parts, and survey private tracts and farms, thus applying himself to the uninterrupted exercise of his profession.

There being few surveyors at that time in Virginia, and the demand for them large, the pay allowed for their services was proportionably high. By diligence and habits of despatch, the employment was lucrative; and, what was more important, his probity and talents for business were at a very early age made known to gentlemen, whose standing in society rendered their friendship and interest a substantial benefit. During these three years his home was with his brother at Mount Vernon, as being nearer the scene of his labors than his mother's residence; but he often visited her, and assisted in the superintendence of her affairs.

At the age of nineteen his character had made so favorable an impression, that he was appointed to an office of considerable distinction and responsibility by the government of Virginia. The frontiers were threatened with Indian depredations and French encroachments, and, as a precautionary measure, it was resolved to put the militia in a condition for defence. To carry this into effect, the province was divided into districts, having in each an officer called an adjutant-general with the rank of major, whose duty it was to assemble and exercise the militia, inspect their arms, and enforce all the regulations for discipline prescribed by the laws. George Washington was commissioned to take charge of one of these districts. The post was probably obtained through the influence of his brother and William Fairfax, the former a delegate in the House of Burgesses, the latter a member of the governor's Council. The pay was one hundred and fifty pounds a year.

His military propensities had not subsided. They rather increased with his years. In Virginia were many officers, besides his brother, who had served in the recent war. Under their tuition he studied tactics, learned the manual exercise, and became expert in the use of the sword. He read the principal books on the military art, and joined practice to theory as far as circumstances would permit. This new station, therefore, was in accordance with his inclinations, and he entered upon it with alacrity and zeal.

But he had scarcely engaged in this service, when he was called to perform another duty, deeply interesting in its claims on his sensibility and fraternal affection. Lawrence Washington, originally of a slender constitution, had been for some time suffering under a pulmonary attack, which was now thought to be

approaching a dangerous crisis. The physicians recommended a voyage to the West Indies, and the experiment of a warmer climate. The necessity of having some friend near him, and his attachment to George, were reasons for desiring his company. They sailed for Barbadoes in the month of September, 1751, and landed on that island after a passage of five weeks.

The change of air, the hospitality of the inhabitants, the novelty of the scene, and the assiduous attentions of his brother, revived the spirits of the patient, and seemed at first to renovate his strength. But the hope was delusive, and the old symptoms returned. The trial of a few weeks produced no essential alteration for the better; and he determined to proceed to Bermuda in the spring, and that in the mean time his brother should go back to Virginia, and accompany his wife to that island. Accordingly, George took passage in a vessel bound to the Chesapeake, and, after encountering a most tempestuous voyage, reached home in February, having been absent somewhat more than four months.

He had been but a short time in Barbadoes, when he was seized with the small-pox. The disease was severe, but, with the aid of good medical attendance, he was able to go abroad in three weeks. The journal kept by him during the two voyages and at Barbadoes, fragments of which have been preserved, shows the same habits of minute observation and power of deducing general results from small particulars, which distinguished him on all occasions. At sea he daily copied the log-book, noted the course of the winds, the state of the weather, the progress of the ship, and incidental occurrences, applying to navigation the knowledge he had gained of a kindred art. In the Island of Barbadoes, every thing attracted his notice; the soil,

agricultural products, modes of culture, fruits, commerce, military force, fortifications, manners of the inhabitants, municipal regulations, and government; on all of which he wrote down summary remarks in his journal.

The first letter from his brother at Bermuda gave an encouraging account of his health, and expressed a wish that his wife should join him there; but it was followed by another, of a different tenor, which prevented her departure. Finding no essential relief, he came home in the summer, and sank rapidly into his grave, at the age of thirty-four, leaving a wife, an infant daughter, and a large circle of friends, to deplore a loss keenly felt by them all. Few men have been more beloved for their amiable qualities, or admired for those higher traits of character, which give dignity to virtue, and a charm to accomplishments of mind and manners.

By this melancholy event, new duties and responsibilities devolved upon George. Large estates were left by the deceased brother, the immediate care of which demanded his oversight. He had likewise been appointed one of the executors of the will, in which was an eventual interest of considerable magnitude pertaining to himself. The estate at Mount Vernon was bequeathed to the surviving daughter; and, in case of her demise without issue, this estate and other lands were to descend to George, with the reservation of the use of the same to the wife during her lifetime. Although he was the youngest executor, yet his acquaintance with his brother's concerns, and the confidence always reposed in him by the deceased, were grounds for placing the business principally in his hands. His time and thoughts, for several months, were taken up with these affairs, complicated in their nature, and requiring delicacy and caution in their management.

His private employments, however, did not draw him away from his public duties as adjutant-general. Indeed the sphere of that office was enlarged. Soon after Governor Dinwiddie came to Virginia, the colony was portioned into four grand military divisions. Major Washington's appointment was then renewed, and the northern division was allotted to him. It included several counties, each of which was to be visited at stated times by the adjutant, in order to train and instruct the militia officers, review the companies on parade, inspect the arms and accoutrements, and establish a uniform system of manœuvres and discipline. These exercises, so congenial to his taste, were equally advantageous to himself and to the subordinate officers, who could not fail to be animated by his example, activity, and enthusiasm.

CHAPTER II.

The French make Encroachments on the Western Frontiers of Virginia. — Claims of the French and English to the Western Territory considered. — Major Washington is sent by the Governor of Virginia to warn the Intruders to retire. — Crosses the Allegany Mountains. — Meets Indians on the Ohio River, who accompany him to the French Garrison. — Indian Speech. — Interviews with the French Commander. — Perilous Adventures during his Journey, and in crossing the Allegany River. — Returns to Williamsburg and reports to the Governor. — His Journal published. — He is appointed to the Command of Troops to repel the Invasion of the Frontiers. — Governor Dinwiddie.

The time was now at hand, when the higher destinies of Washington were to unfold themselves. Intelligence came from the frontiers, that the French had crossed the Lakes from Canada in force, and were about to establish posts and erect fortifications on the waters of the Ohio. It was rumored, also, that, alarmed for their safety, the friendly Indians were beginning to waver in their fidelity; and the hostile tribes, encouraged by the presence and support of the French, exhibited symptoms of open war. The crisis, in the opinion of Governor Dinwiddie and his Council, called for an immediate inquiry. A messenger had already been sent over the mountains, in the character of a trader, with presents of powder, lead, and guns for the Indians, instructed to ascertain their temper, penetrate their designs, and above all to trace out the artifices and movements of the French.

This messenger, either intimidated or deceived by the savages, executed his mission imperfectly. He went as far as the Ohio River, met some of the friendly sachems, delivered his presents, stayed a few days with them, and then returned. He brought back various reports concerning the French, narrated to him

by the Indians, who had been in their camp at Lake Erie, and who magnified their strength and formidable appearance, telling him that they took every Englishman prisoner, whom they found beyond the Alleganies, because all that country belonged to the French King, and no Englishman had a right to trade with the Indians in the King's territory.

In the mean time the British ministry, anticipating from the political aspect of affairs a rupture with France, despatched orders to the governor of Virginia to build two forts near the Ohio River, for the purpose of securing possession, driving off intruders, and retaining the alliance of the Indians, or holding them in check. Thirty pieces of light cannon and eighty barrels of powder were sent out from England for the use of the forts.

These orders came too late. Before they arrived, the governor of Canada had been diligently employed for a whole season in pushing forward troops across the Lakes, with munitions of war and other supplies, and a footing had already been gained in the heart of the disputed territory. Bodies of armed men had likewise ascended the Mississippi from New Orleans to act in concert, and established themselves on the southern waters of the Ohio. The object was to form a line of military posts from Louisiana to Canada, and thus confine the western limits of the English colonies within the Allegany Mountains. Thus far had the French advanced, before the British government began any active measures to counteract them.

A question here occurs, of much historical interest, but of too wide a compass to be discussed in this place. What right had England or France to the territory in dispute? Although each party set up many pretensions, it would be difficult in reviewing them to strike

the balance, because, when compared, it could not be shown, that even a plausible argument existed in favor of either side. England rested her claims on Indian treaties, and the French fortified theirs by still higher authority, the treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle, and by the fact of prior discovery.

It was always the policy of the English to keep up a good understanding with the Six Nations, a powerful confederacy bordering on Lake Ontario. By their position they formed a barrier against the French in Canada; and, as they had no good will towards their Indian neighbours on the other side of the Lakes, who adhered to the French, it was found practicable, by repeated presents and a good deal of management, to retain their friendship. These tribes pretended, that at some remote period they had conquered all the region west of the mountains, as far as the Mississippi River. On the strength of this assumption, they made treaties with the English, ceding to them the lands within that space, and confirming the title by such forms as were prescribed to them. This was the basis of the English claim. But the Indians dwelling on the lands, and whose ancestors from time immemorial had dwelt there, neither participated in these treaties nor assented to them. On the contrary, they declared themselves the only rightful owners, and denied the authority of the Six Nations to meddle in the matter.

The French insisted on the right of discovery and occupancy. Father Marquette, La Salle, and others, they said, had descended the Mississippi, and settlements had been made south of Lake Michigan and on the Illinois River, years before any Englishman had set his foot westward of the great mountains; and European treaties, in which England was a party, had

repeatedly recognised the title of France to all her actual possessions in America. So far the ground was tenable. But a position was assumed, as a concomitant or consequence, of a more dubious character. The French maintained it to be an axiom in the law of nations, that the discovery of a river gave the discoverer a right to all the country watered by the streams flowing into it. Hence the passing of Father Marquette down the Mississippi in a canoe, invested his sovereign with a title to the immense valley bounded by the Appalachian Mountains on one side, and the Rocky Mountains on the other. However gravely such an hypothesis may be advanced, however ingeniously defended, its fallacy is too obvious to be pointed out.

From these hints it is clear, that neither of the contending parties had any just claim to the lands, about which they were beginning to kindle the flames of war. They were both intruders upon the soil of the native occupants. Of these proprietors, it was not pretended, that any purchase had been made or attempted. It was not strange, that they should look with astonishment upon so singular a transaction, as that of two nations, in distant parts of the world unknown to them, entering into a quarrel about the right of seizing their property. When Mr. Gist went into that country, on a tour of observation for the Ohio Company, two sachems sent a messenger to ask him "where the Indians' lands lay, for the French claimed all the land on one side of the Ohio River, and the English on the other." This pertinent inquiry contains a forcible statement of the whole merits of the case, far outweighing all the treaties referred to, whether made in Europe or America.

Such were some of the original grounds of the con-

test, in which nearly all Europe was involved, and which terminated in severing from France the larger portion of her possessions on the western continent. The result is well known. The terms of the peace, so humiliating to the national pride of France, were endured no longer than till an opportunity offered of retaliation and recompense. This presented itself much sooner than could have been foreseen, in the war of the American revolution; and it may safely be said, that the first blow struck on the Ohio was the beginning of the series of events, which ended thirty years afterwards in establishing the independence of the English Colonies. We shall hence find Washington acting a prominent part in this great drama from its very commencement to its close, gaining strength and rising higher and higher at every stage, the defender of his country's cause, equal to all occasions, successful, and triumphant.

As a first step towards executing the orders of the ministers, Governor Dinwiddie resolved to send a commissioner in due form, and invested with suitable powers, to confer with the officer commanding the French forces, and inquire by what authority he presumed to invade the King's dominions, and what were his designs. The commission was delicate and hazardous, requiring discretion, ability, experience in the modes of travelling in the woods, and a knowledge of Indian manners. These requisites were believed to be combined in Major Washington, and the important service was intrusted to him, although as yet but twenty-one years old.

He was instructed to proceed without delay to the Ohio River, convene some of the Indian chiefs at a place called Logstown, make known to them the objects of his visit, and, after having ascertained where

the French were stationed, to request an escort of warriors to be his guides and safeguard the rest of the journey. When arrived at the principal French post, he was to present his credentials and a letter from the governor of Virginia to the commandant, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty to demand an answer. He was furthermore to inquire diligently, and by cautious means, into the number of the French troops that had crossed the Lakes, the reinforcements expected from Canada, how many forts they had erected and at what places, how they were garrisoned and appointed, and their distances from each other; and, in short, to procure all the intelligence possible respecting the condition and objects of the intruders.

Fortified with written instructions to this effect, with credentials and a passport to which the great seal of the colony was affixed, he departed from Williamsburg, the seat of government in Virginia, on the 31st of November, 1753. The distance before him to the extreme point of his destination, by the route he would pursue, was about five hundred and sixty miles, in great part over lofty and rugged mountains, and more than half of the way through the heart of a wilderness, where no traces of civilization as yet appeared.

Passing through the towns of Fredericksburg, Alexandria, and Winchester, he arrived at Will's Creek in fourteen days. John Davidson had joined him as Indian interpreter; and Jacob Vanbraam, a Dutchman by birth, and formerly an officer in the army, was employed to assist in his intercourse with the French, being acquainted with their language. At Will's Creek he found Mr. Gist, a person long accustomed to the woods, having several times penetrated far into the interior, and lately begun a settlement in the valley between the last ridge of the Alleganies and the Mo-

nongahela River. Mr. Gist consented to go with him as a guide. Four other men, two of them Indian traders, were added as attendants.

The party was now increased to eight persons. With horses, tents, baggage, and provisions, suited to the expedition, they left the extreme verge of civilization at Will's Creek, and entered the forests. The inclemency of the season, the Alleganies covered with snow and the valleys flooded by the swelling waters, the rough passages over the mountains and the difficulties in crossing the streams by frail rafts, fording, or swimming, were obstacles that could be overcome but slowly and with patience. They at length reached the Fork of the Ohio, where the Monongahela and Allegany unite to form that river. The place was critically examined by Major Washington, and he was impressed with the advantages it afforded as a military post, both for defence and a depository of supplies, in case of hostilities in that quarter; and it was by his advice, that a fortification was shortly afterwards begun there, which became celebrated in two wars.

Hastening onward to Logstown, about twenty miles below the Fork, he called together some of the Indian chiefs, and delivered to them the governor's message, soliciting a guard to the French encampments. The principal sachem was Tanacharison, otherwise called the Half-King. He was friendly to the English, or rather he was unfriendly to the French; not that he loved one more than the other, but he valued his rights and independence. In the simplicity of his heart, he supposed the English sought only an intercourse of trade, an exchange of arms, powder, and goods, for skins and furs, which would be beneficial to the Indians. When the French came with arms in their hands, took possession of the country, and built forts,

his suspicions were awakened, and he saw no other method of defeating their designs, than by adhering to the English. Tanacharison, as a deputy from several tribes, had been to the head-quarters of the French commandant, and made a speech to him, the substance of which he related to Major Washington.

"Fathers," said he, "I am come to tell you your own speeches; what your own mouths have declared. Fathers, you in former days set a silver basin before us, wherein there was the leg of a beaver, and desired all the nations to come and eat of it, to eat in peace and plenty, and not to be churlish to one another; and that if any such person should be found to be a disturber, I here lay down by the edge of the dish a rod, which you must scourge them with; and if your father should get foolish, in my old days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as others.

"Now, fathers, it is you who are the disturbers in this land, by coming and building your towns, and taking it away unknown to us, and by force.

"Fathers, we kindled a fire a long time ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may despatch to that place; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land and not yours.

"Fathers, I desire you may hear me in civilness; if not, we must handle that rod which was laid down for the use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable manner, like our brothers the English, we would not have been against your trading with us as they do; but to come, fathers, and build houses upon our land, and to take it by force, is what we cannot submit to.

"Fathers, both you and the English are white; we live in a country between; therefore, the land belongs

to neither one nor the other. But the Great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us; so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, and that side we will stand by, and make equal sharers with us. Our brothers, the English, have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land."

These are the sentiments of a patriot and a hero, but the high-minded savage was not aware, that, as far as he and his race were concerned, there was no difference between his professed friends and open enemies. He had never studied in the school of politics, which finds an excuse for rapacity and injustice in the law of nations, nor learned that it was the prerogative of civilization to prey upon the ignorant and the defenceless.

The sachems at length met in council, and Major Washington addressed to them a speech, explaining the objects of his mission, and the wishes of the governor. He then gave them a string of wampum, the Indian token of friendship and alliance. They consulted together, and deputed Tanacharison to reply in the name of the whole. His language was pacific, and the escort was promised; but, the young warriors being out on a hunting party, three or four days were consumed in waiting for their return. As his business was pressing, Major Washington could delay no longer, and he finally set off, accompanied by four Indians only, Tanacharison being of the number.

The distance to the station of the French commandant was one hundred and twenty miles. The journey was performed without any important inci-

dent, except at Venango, one of the French outposts, where various stratagems were used to detain the Indians. He was civilly treated, however, by Captain Joncaire, the principal officer, who told him where the head-quarters were established. Rain and snow fell continually, and, after incredible toils from exposure and the badness of the travelling through an illimitable forest, intersected with deep streams and morasses, he was rejoiced to find himself at the end of his journey, forty-one days from the time he left Williamsburg.

M. de St. Pierre, the commandant, was an elderly person, a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and courteous in his manners. At the first interview he promised immediate attention to the letter from Governor Dinwiddie, and every thing was provided for the convenience and comfort of Major Washington and his party while they remained at the fort. At the next meeting the commission and letter were produced, read, translated, and deliberately explained. The commandant counselled with his officers, and in two days an answer was returned.

The governor's letter asserted, that the lands on the Ohio belonged to the crown of Great Britain, expressed surprise at the encroachments of the French, demanded by whose authority an armed force had crossed the Lakes, and urged a speedy and peaceable departure. M. de St. Pierre replied in the style of a soldier, saying it did not belong to him to discuss treaties, that such a message should have been sent to the Marquis Duquesne, Governor of Canada, by whose instructions he acted, and whose orders he should be careful to obey, and that the summons to retire could not be complied with. The tone was respectful, but uncomplying and determined.

While the French officers were holding consultations,

and getting the despatch ready, Major Washington took an opportunity to look around and examine the fort. His attendants were instructed to do the same. He was thus enabled to bring away an accurate description of its form, size, construction, cannon, and barracks. His men counted the canoes in the river, and such as were partly finished. The fort was situate on a branch of French Creek, about fifteen miles south of Lake Erie. A plan of it, drawn by Major Washington, was sent to the British government.

The snow was falling so fast, that he ordered back his horses to Venango, resolved to go down himself by water, a canoe having been offered to him for that purpose. He had been entertained with great politeness; nor did the complaisance of M. de St. Pierre exhaust itself in mere forms of civility. The canoe, by his order, was plentifully stocked with provisions, liquors, and every other supply that could be wanted.

But the same artifices were practised and expedients tried, as at Venango, to lure away the Indians, and keep them behind. Many temptations were held out, presents given, and others promised. The Half-King was a man of consequence, whose friendship was not to be lost, if it could possibly be retained. He persisted in his reserve, however, and now offered a second time to the French commandant the speech-belt, or wampum, as indicating that the alliance between them was broken off. The latter refused to accept it, and soothed the savage with soft words and fair professions, saying it was his wish to live in amity and peace with the Indians, and to trade with them, and that he would immediately send goods to their towns. These attempts to inveigle the Half-King and his companions were discovered by Major Washington, who complained of the delay, and insinuated the

cause. M. de St. Pierre was urbane, as usual, seemed ignorant of all that passed, could not tell why the Indians stayed, and declared nothing should be wanting on his part to fulfil Major Washington's desires. Finally, after much perplexity and trouble, the whole party embarked in the canoe.

The passage down was fatiguing, slow, and perilous. Rocks, shallows, drifting trees, and currents, kept them in constant alarm. "Many times," says Major Washington in his journal, "all hands were obliged to get out, and remain in the water half an hour or more in getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water; and we were obliged to carry our canoe across a neck of land a quarter of a mile over." In six days they landed at Venango, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles by the winding of the stream.

The horses were found here, but in so emaciated and pitiable a condition, that it was doubtful whether they could perform the journey. The baggage and provisions were all to be transported on their backs. To lighten their burden, as much as possible, Major Washington, clad in an Indian walking-dress, determined to proceed on foot, with Mr. Gist and Mr. Vanbraam, putting the horses under the direction of the drivers. After three days' travel, the horses becoming more feeble, and the cold and snow hourly increasing, this mode of journeying proved so tardy and discouraging, that another was resorted to. Mr. Vanbraam took charge of the horses, with orders to go on as fast as he could. Major Washington, with a knapsack on his back, containing his papers and food, and with a gun in his hand, left the party, accompanied only by Mr. Gist, equipped in the same manner. They turned out of the path, and directed their course

through the woods so as to strike the Allegany River, and cross it near Shannopins Town, two or three miles above the Fork of the Ohio. The next day an adventure occurred, which is well narrated by Mr. Gist in a diary written by him at the time.

"We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock, and got to the Murdering Town on the southeast fork of Beaver Creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as, how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there. Major Washington insisted on travelling by the nearest way to the Forks of the Allegany. We asked the Indian if he could go with us, and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad, and ready to go with us; upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We travelled very brisk for eight or ten miles, when the Major's feet grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much northeastwardly. The Major desired to encamp; upon which the Indian asked to carry his gun, but he refused; and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us there were Ottowa Indians in those woods, and they would scalp us if we lay out; but go to his cabin, and we should be safe.

"I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But he soon mistrusted him as much as I did. The Indian said he could hear a gun from his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard from his cabin. We

went two miles further. Then the Major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water; but before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow. It was very light, and snow was on the ground. The Indian made a stop, and turned about. The Major saw him point his gun towards us, and he fired. Said the Major, 'Are you shot?' 'No,' said I; upon which the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and began loading his gun, but we were soon with him. I would have killed him, but the Major would not suffer me. We let him charge his gun. We found he put in a ball; then we took care of him. Either the Major or I always stood by the guns. We made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the Major, 'As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night'; upon which I said to the Indian, 'I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun.' He said he knew the way to his cabin, and it was but a little way. 'Well,' said I, 'do you go home; and, as we are tired, we will follow your track in the morning, and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning.' He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened, until he was fairly out of the way; and then we went about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass, fixed our course, and travelled all night. In the morning we were on the head of Piny Creek."

Whether it was the intention of the Indian to kill either of them can only be conjectured. The circumstances were extremely suspicious. Major Washington hints at this incident in his journal. "We fell in with a party of French Indians," says he, "who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr.

Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took the fellow in custody, and kept him till nine o'clock at night; then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light." No more was seen or heard of them. The next night, at dusk, the travellers came to the Allegany River, a little above Shannopins, where they expected to cross over on the ice; but in this they were disappointed, the river being frozen only a few yards on each side, and a great body of broken ice driving rapidly down the current.

Weary and exhausted they were compelled to pass the night on the bank of the river, exposed to the rigor of the weather, making their beds on the snow, with no other covering than their blankets. When the morning came, their invention was the only resource for providing the means of gaining the opposite shore.

"There was no way of getting over," says Major Washington, "but on a raft; which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sunsetting. This was a whole day's work. We next got it launched, and went on board of it; then set off. But before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft would sink, and ourselves perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by; when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water. But I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts we could

not get the raft to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft, and make to it."

This providential escape from most imminent danger was not the end of their calamities. They were thrown upon a desert island; the weather was intensely cold; Mr. Gist's hands and feet were frozen; and their sufferings through the night were extreme. A gleam of hope appeared with the dawn of morning. Between the island and the eastern bank of the river, the ice had congealed so hard as to bear their weight. They crossed over without accident, and the same day reached a trading-post recently established by Mr. Frazier, near the spot where eighteen months afterwards was fought the memorable battle of the Monongahela.

Here they rested two or three days, both to recruit themselves and to procure horses. Meantime Major Washington paid a complimentary visit to Queen Aliquippa, an Indian princess, who resided at the confluence of the Monongahela and Youghiogany Rivers. She had expressed dissatisfaction, that he had neglected this mark of respect on his way out. An apology, seconded by the more substantial token of a present, soothed her wounded dignity, and secured a gracious reception.

Nothing was heard of Vanbraam and his party. Anxious to hasten back, and report to the governor the result of his mission, Major Washington did not wait for them. With Mr. Gist he recrossed the Alleganies to Will's Creek, and thence proceeded with despatch to Williamsburg, where he arrived on the 16th of January, having been absent eleven weeks.

The intentions and movements of the French being now understood, Governor Dinwiddie thought the

occasion demanded prompt and energetic action. He called his Council together, and laid before them Major Washington's journal, and the letter of the French commandant. It was agreed, that the instructions heretofore received from the ministry imposed it as a duty, in case of an invasion of the King's dominions, to repel it by a resort to arms. There was no longer any doubt, that the state of things, anticipated by the ministers, had actually come to pass. It was now time to prepare for the exigency. At the last meeting of the House of Burgesses, the governor had failed in his endeavours to rouse the representatives of the people to a sense of danger, and no funds had been provided for establishing a military force.

Without waiting for the burgesses to convene, the Council advised the immediate enlistment of two hundred men, with directions to march to the Ohio, and build one or two forts there, before the French should be able to descend the river in the spring, as they had threatened to do. An order was issued for raising two companies, of one hundred men each, in the northern counties by voluntary enlistments, or, if that method should prove impracticable, by drafts from the militia. The conduct of Major Washington had hitherto been marked with so much prudence, resolution, and capacity, that he was appointed to the chief command of these troops, apparently by the unanimous voice of the Council.

To make an impression on the minds of the people, and if possible to work them up to some degree of enthusiasm, and excite their indignation against the invaders, Governor Dinwiddie caused Major Washington's journal to be published. It was copied into nearly all the newspapers of the other colonies. In London it was reprinted, under the auspices of the gov-

ernment, and accounted a document of much importance, as unfolding the views of the French, and announcing the first positive proof of their hostile acts in the disputed territory.

Nothing more was expected from the small military preparations set on foot by the governor and Council, than to take a position on the Ohio before the French should come down the river, and unite with the parties from New Orleans. The command of one of the two companies was given to Captain Trent, who, being acquainted with the frontiers, was sent forward to enlist his men among the traders and back settlers, and ordered to commence with all speed the building of a fort at the Fork of the Ohio, in conformity with the recommendation of Major Washington, who had examined that place, as we have seen, with a view to its military advantages.

At the same time, Major Washington was stationed at Alexandria, as a convenient situation for the rendezvous of his men, and for superintending the transportation of supplies and the cannon intended to be mounted in the fort. Lord Fairfax, holding the office of county-lieutenant, which gave him authority over the militia in his neighbourhood, was active in procuring enlistments and rendering other services to his young friend. The governor's instructions to the officers bore a warlike aspect. They were, to drive away, kill, and destroy, or seize as prisoners, all persons not the subjects of the King of Great Britain, who should attempt to settle or take possession of the lands on the Ohio River or any of its tributaries.

These arrangements being made, Governor Dinwiddie summoned the legislature to meet at an early day, in order to take into consideration the critical state of affairs, and provide for the safety of the Dominion, as

Virginia was at that time denominated. He also wrote letters to the governors of the other provinces, calling on them for aid, and drawing a vivid picture of the common danger, with moving appeals to their patriotism and sense of duty to their sovereign. New York and the New England colonies he desired to send troops towards Canada, and make a feint in that direction, which should prevent the reinforcements at Quebec from marching to the Ohio.

These appeals were of little avail; the governors had received no instructions; funds for military objects were not at their disposal; and the assemblies were slow to impose taxes even for the support of their own governments. Some persons doubted the authority of the governor of Virginia to meddle in so grave a matter; others were not convinced, that the French had encroached upon the King's lands; and others regarded it as a national concern, in which the colonies had no right to interfere without direct orders and assistance from the King. If treaties have been violated, said they, it is not for us to avenge the insult, and precipitate a war by our zeal and rashness.

In short, the call was premature, and there was little hope of coöperation from the other colonies. Messengers were despatched to the southern Indians, the Catawbas and Cherokees, inviting them to join in repelling a common enemy, who had already engaged in their behalf the powerful nations of Chippewas and Ottowas. Reliance was also placed on the friendship of the Twigtwees, Delawares, and other tribes beyond the Ohio.

When the Assembly met, a difference of opinion prevailed, as to the measures that ought to be pursued; but ten thousand pounds were finally voted for the defence of the colony, cloaked under the title of an act "for the encouragement and protection of

the settlers on the waters of the Mississippi." The governor's equanimity was severely tried. The King's prerogative and his own dignity he thought were not treated with due respect. So obtuse were some of the burgesses, that they could not perceive the justice of the King's claims to the lands in question, and they had the boldness to let their doubts be known in a full assembly. "You may well conceive," said the governor in writing to a friend, "how I fired at this; that an English legislature should presume to doubt the right of his Majesty to the interior parts of this continent, the back of his dominions." And, alluding to one of the members, he added, "How this French spirit could possess a person of his high distinction and sense, I know not." Another point was still more annoying to him. The Assembly appointed commissioners to superintend the appropriation of the funds. This act he took as a slight to himself, since by virtue of his office the disposal of money for public uses ought to rest exclusively with the governor. Such was his view of the matter, and he declared that nothing but the extreme urgency of the case should have induced him to sign the bill.

To the Earl of Holdernesse he complained of the wayward temper and strange doings of the Assembly. "I am sorry to find them," said he, "very much in a republican way of thinking; and, indeed, they do not act in a proper constitutional way, but make encroachments on the prerogative of the crown, in which some former governors have submitted too much to them; and, I fear, without a very particular instruction, it will be difficult to bring them to order." Notwithstanding these grievances, the governor's zeal for the public good rose above his personal feelings, and he applied himself ardently to the work he had undertaken.

CHAPTER III.

Military Preparations. — Washington appointed Lieutenant-Colonel. — Marches to the Allegany Mountains. — Joined by Parties of Indians. — Skirmish with a French Detachment under Jumonville. — The Chief Command devolves on Colonel Washington. — His generous Sentiments respecting the Terms of Service. — Fort Necessity. — Battle of the Great Meadows. — Resigns his Commission. — Engages in the Expedition under General Braddock. — Difficulties encountered by the Army in its March. — Battle of the Monongahela. — Its disastrous Results. — Bravery and good Conduct of Colonel Washington in that Action. — His prudent Advice to General Braddock.

With the means now provided by the legislature, the military establishment was increased to six companies, under the command of Colonel Joshua Fry. He was an Englishman by birth, educated at Oxford, skilled in the mathematical sciences, and much esteemed for his amiable qualities and gentlemanly character. Major Washington was made second in command, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Subordinate officers were commissioned, and, to quicken the military zeal of the people, and give alacrity to the recruiting service, Governor Dinwiddie issued a proclamation granting two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio River, to be divided among the troops, who should engage in the proposed expedition, and releasing the same from quitrents for fifteen years. One thousand acres were ordered to be laid off, contiguous to the fort at the Fork of the Ohio, for the use of the soldiers doing duty there, to be called *the garrison lands.*

The reasons assigned by the governor to the ministers for making this grant were, that he hoped the soldiers would become permanent settlers, and that it was better to secure the lands by such a bounty,

than to allow the French to take quiet possession of as many millions of acres as he had granted thousands. His proclamation was sanctioned by the King, but it was not well received in another quarter. The Assembly of Pennsylvania took alarm at the freedom, with which lands, situate as they said in that province, were given away. Governor Hamilton wrote an expostulatory letter. It was a perplexing case; but Governor Dinwiddie escaped from the difficulty by replying, that the claims of Pennsylvania were at least doubtful, the boundary line not having been run, that the object in view equally concerned both provinces, that his grant did not necessarily imply future jurisdiction, and that, if the Pennsylvania claim should be established, the quitrents might eventually be paid to the proprietary instead of the crown.

Fresh encouragement was inspired by a letter from the Earl of Holdernesse, authorizing Governor Dinwiddie to call to his aid two independent companies from New York, and one from South Carolina. These were colonial troops, raised and supported at the King's charge, and commanded by officers with royal commissions. They could be marched to any part of the continent. None of these companies had ever been stationed in Virginia. Expresses were immediately despatched to the governors of the above colonies, requesting them to order forward the companies without delay.

News came from North Carolina, also, that the Assembly had voted twelve thousand pounds for defence, and that a respectable force would soon be in the field to join their neighbours in the common cause. Thus far the prospect was flattering. The sympathy of the other colonies, however, did not manifest itself in any direct efforts. The Assembly of Maryland brought in

a money bill, which was rejected by the governor, under pretence, that the mode proposed for levying the taxes was an encroachment upon the prerogative. Indeed, the apparition of the prerogative never failed to stare the colonial governors in the face, whenever any measure salutary to the people was to be approved by them. It may be, that the bold experiments and aspiring demands of the assemblies sometimes required this cautionary check.

The spirit of liberty, even at that day, was restless under the burden of charters and usages, and was everywhere struggling to throw it off, or at least to diminish its weight. The prerogative was the potent charm, by which the governors endeavoured to allay this spirit, when they found arguments and personal influence unavailing. In Pennsylvania, more exposed to the invasion than Virginia, the legislature were so busy in carrying on the quarrel, which continued for years between themselves and the governor, that they had little leisure for other business. Here again was a prerogative, but not enforced in the name of the King, and hence perhaps the more odious to the people.

The descendants of William Penn, called the proprietaries, owned large tracts of land in the province. The Assembly insisted, and very justly, that these lands, being equally benefited, ought to bear an equal portion of the tax for defence. They reported money bills upon that principle; the governor refused his signature, maintaining the proprietary prerogative. The bills fell to the ground, and nothing was done. In his letter of explanation, Governor Hamilton regretted the failure of the bills, but laid the blame at the door of the Quakers, who, he said, had scruples about arming.

Although thus feebly sustained by their neighbours, the Virginians did not abate their exertions. The

enlistments went on with considerable success. Colonel Washington continued his head-quarters at Alexandria till the beginning of April. Two companies had been collected at that place, with which he marched to Will's Creek, where he arrived on the 20th, having been joined on the way by another company under Captain Stephen. The march was slow and fatiguing, on account of the roughness of the roads, and the difficulty of procuring wagons to convey the baggage. It was necessary to put the militia law in execution, which authorized impressments; but measures of this sort are always disliked by the people, and orders are tardily obeyed or evaded. The artillery and some of the heavier articles went by water up the Potomac.

A party of Captain Trent's men had already gone to the Ohio, and begun to build a fort. Just before Colonel Washington reached Will's Creek, a rumor came from the interior, that these men were taken by the French; and two days afterwards the alarming intelligence was confirmed by the ensign of Captain Trent's company. He reported, that, while they were at work, forty-one in number, a body of French troops descended the river from Venango, consisting of one thousand men, with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty batteaux, and three hundred canoes, under the command of Captain Contrecœur, and summoned them to surrender, threatening to take forcible possession of the fort if this summons were not immediately obeyed. No alternative remained, and, the captain and lieutenant being absent, Ensign Ward acceded to articles of capitulation, and gave up the fort, but was permitted to retire with his men. He came to Will's Creek, and brought the news of the disaster. His statement, however, as to the numbers of the French, their can-

non and boats, turned out to be very much exaggerated. This was the first open act of hostility in the memorable war of seven years that followed. The French enlarged and completed the fort, which they called Fort Duquesne, in compliment to the governor of Canada.

To the little army under Colonel Washington, as yet amounting to no more than three small companies, this was a critical moment. They occupied an outpost, beyond which there was no barrier to oppose the formidable French force on the Ohio. Even a detachment, well armed and disciplined, might surround and cut them off. Colonel Fry had not joined them, and the whole responsibility rested on the Lieutenant-Colonel. He instantly sent expresses to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, setting forth his weak and exposed condition, and calling for reinforcements. He then held a council of war. Notwithstanding the dangers that threatened on every side, it was resolved to push boldly into the wilderness, to clear and prepare the road as they advanced, and, if possible, to penetrate to the Monongahela at the mouth of Red-stone Creek, and erect there a fortification. The soldiers would thus be employed, their apprehensions quieted, the bane of idleness avoided, and a way opened for the more expeditious march of the troops in the rear.

So many obstacles intervened, that the progress was slow. Trees were to be felled, bridges made, marshes filled up, and rocks removed. In the midst of these difficulties the provisions failed, the commissaries having neglected to fulfil their engagements, and there was great distress for want of bread.

At the Youghiogany, where they were detained in constructing a bridge, Colonel Washington was told by the traders and Indians, that, except at one place,

a passage might be had by water down that river. To ascertain this point, extremely advantageous if true, he embarked in a canoe with five men on a tour of discovery, leaving the army under the command of a subordinate officer. His hopes were disappointed. After navigating the river in his canoe near thirty miles, encountering rocks and shoals, he passed between two mountains, and came to a fall that arrested his course, and rendered any further attempt impracticable. He returned, and the project of a conveyance by water was given up.

He had scarcely rejoined the army, when a message was brought to him from his old friend Tanacharison, or the Half-King, then with his people near the Monongahela River, which warned him to be on his guard, as a party of French had been out two days, and were then marching towards him determined to attack the first English they should meet. His account was confirmed by another, which stated the French to be only fifteen miles distant.

Not knowing their number, or at what moment they might approach, he hastened to a place called the Great Meadows, cleared away the bushes, threw up an entrenchment, and prepared, as he expressed it, "a charming field for an encounter." He then mounted some of the soldiers on wagon-horses, and sent them out to reconnoitre. They came back without having seen any traces of the enemy; but the camp was alarmed in the night, the sentries fired, and all hands were kept under arms till morning. Mr. Gist came to the camp, also, and reported that a French detachment, consisting of fifty men, had been at his settlement the day before, and that he had observed their tracks within five miles of the Great Meadows.

The approach of the French, with hostile designs,

was now deemed certain; and the best preparation was made to receive them, which circumstances would permit. In the mean time, about nine o'clock at night, another express came from the Half-King, who was then with a party of his warriors about six miles from the camp, stating that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen, and that the whole detachment was near that place. Colonel Washington immediately put himself at the head of forty men, leaving the rest to guard the camp, and set off to join the Half-King. The night was dark, the rain fell in torrents, the paths through the woods were narrow and intricate, and the soldiers often lost their way, groping in the bushes, and clambering over rocks and fallen trees.

The whole night was passed in the march, and they got to the Indian encampment just before sunrise. A council was held with Tanacharison and his chief warriors, and it was agreed that they should march in concert against the French. Two Indians went out to ascertain the position of the enemy, which was discovered to be in an obscure retreat, surrounded by rocks, half a mile from the road. The plan of the attack was then formed. Colonel Washington and his men were to advance on the right, and the Indians on the left. The march was pursued in single file, according to the Indian manner, till they came so near as to be discovered by the French, who instantly seized their arms, and put themselves in an attitude of defence.

At this moment the firing commenced on both sides. A smart skirmish ensued, which was kept up for a quarter of an hour, when the French ceased to resist. M. de Jumonville, the commander of the French party, and ten of his men, were killed. Twenty-two were taken prisoners, one of whom was wounded. A Ca-

nadian made his escape during the action. One of Colonel Washington's men was killed, and two or three wounded. No harm happened to the Indians, as the enemy's fire was directed chiefly against the English. This event occurred on the 28th of May. The prisoners were conducted to the Great Meadows, and thence under a guard to Governor Dinwiddie.

No transaction in the life of Washington has been so much misrepresented, or so little understood, as this skirmish with Jumonville. It being the first conflict of arms in the war, a notoriety was given to it, particularly in Europe, altogether disproportioned to its importance. War had not yet been declared between Great Britain and France, and indeed the diplomatists on both sides were making great professions of friendship. It was the policy of each nation to exaggerate the proceedings of the other on their colonial frontiers, and to make them a handle for recrimination and complaints, by throwing upon the adverse party the blame of committing the first acts of aggression. Hence, when the intelligence of the skirmish with Jumonville got to Paris, it was officially published by the government, in connexion with a memoir and various papers, and his death was called a murder. It was said, that, while bearing a summons as a civil messenger, without any hostile intentions, he was waylaid and assassinated. The report was industriously circulated, and gained credence with the multitude. M. Thomas, a poet and scholar of repute, seized the occasion to write an epic, entitled "*Jumonville*," in which he tasked his invention to draw a tragical picture of the fate of his hero. The fabric of the story and the incidents were alike fictitious. But the tale passed from fiction to history, and to this day it is repeated by the French historians, who in other respects render justice to the character

of Washington, and who can find no other apology for this act, than his youth and inexperience, and the ferocity of his men.

The mistakes of the French writers were not unknown to Washington; but, conscious of having acted in strict conformity with his orders and military usage, he took no pains to correct them, except in a single letter to a friend written several years afterwards, which related mostly to the errors in the French account of the subsequent action of the Great Meadows. Unfortunately all his correspondence, and the other papers which he wrote during this campaign, were lost the next year at the battle of the Monongahela; and he was thus deprived of the only authentic materials, that could be used for explanation and defence. The most important of these papers have recently been found, and they afford not only a complete vindication of the conduct of Colonel Washington in this affair, but show that it met with the unqualified approbation of the governor and legislature of Virginia, and of the British ministry.*

It is true that Jumonville was the bearer of a summons; but this was unknown to Colonel Washington, nor did the mode in which the former approached the English camp indicate that he came on an errand of peace. He was at the head of an armed force, he sent out spies in advance, concealed himself and his party two days in an obscure place near the camp,

* In the public offices at London, I examined the official communications from Governor Dinwiddie, giving a full account of the events of that period. By the politeness of an individual in England, who had in his possession the letter-books and private papers of Governor Dinwiddie, I was permitted to inspect those papers, and to have copies taken. Among them were the original letters of Colonel Washington, written at the time, respecting the skirmish with Jumonville, and the principal incidents of the campaign.

and despatched messengers with intelligence to his commander at the fort. These were strong evidences of a hostile intention; and, had Colonel Washington not regarded them in that light, he would have been justly censurable for ignorance or neglect of duty.

The summons itself was by no means conciliatory; and, if Colonel Washington had actually known, that the French officer had such a paper in his pocket, he could not properly do otherwise than he did, under the circumstances in which M. de Jumonville chose to place himself. It warned the English to retire below the Alleganies, and threatened compulsory measures if it should not be obeyed. The presumption was, that the summons was only a feint, in case the party should be captured, and that Jumonville was to remain concealed, and wait for reinforcements, after he had reconnoitred the English camp, and ascertained its strength. If such were not the object, the consequences are justly chargeable on the indiscretion of M. de Jumonville in the extraordinary mode of conducting his enterprise.

The labors and dangers of the field were not the only troubles, with which Colonel Washington at this time had to contend. By an ill-timed parsimony, the pay of the officers was reduced so low, as to create murmurs and discontent throughout the camp. Complaints grew loud and vehement, accompanied with threats to resign and leave the army to its fate. Under this pressure the character of Washington shone with the same purity and lustre, that often distinguished it afterwards on similar trying occasions. In his letters to the governor he assumed a firm and manly tone, demanded for himself and his associates an allowance equal to that received by the King's troops, and deprecated the idea of being placed upon a footing,

which should imply an inferiority in rank, or in the value of their services.

While he took this high stand, in defending the just claims of the officers, he endeavoured to calm their feelings, and reconcile them to their condition, by appeals to their honor and the obligations of duty. "I have communicated your sentiments to the other officers," said he to the governor, "and, as far as I could put on the hypocrite, set forth the advantages that may accrue, and advised them to accept the terms, as a refusal might reflect dishonor upon their character, leaving it to the world to assign what reason it pleases for their quitting the service." And again; "I considered the pernicious consequences that would attend a disunion, and was therefore too much attached to my country's interests to suffer it to ripen." In this way he concealed his uneasiness, and tranquillized the minds of his officers, although he felt the wrongs they suffered, and approved the spirit that would not tamely submit to them.

As to himself, it was not so much the smallness of the pay, that gave him concern, as the indignity and injustice of having his services estimated at a lower rate, than in the British establishment, when in reality no service could be more severe and hazardous, or less promising of glory, than the one in which he was engaged. "Now if we could be fortunate enough," said he, "to drive the French from the Ohio, as far as your Honor would please to have them sent, in any short time, our pay will not be sufficient to discharge our first expenses. I would not have you imagine from this, that I have said all these things to have our pay increased, but to justify myself, and to show you that our complaints are not frivolous, but founded on strict reason. For my own part, it is

a matter almost indifferent, whether I serve for full pay, or as a generous volunteer. Indeed, did my circumstances correspond with my inclinations, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter; for the motives that have led me here are pure and noble. I had no view of acquisition, but that of honor, by serving my King and country." In this declaration, uttered in the sincerity of his heart, we perceive the principles, the eminent virtues, that dictated every act of his public life.

Colonel Fry having died suddenly at Will's Creek, while on his way to join the army, the chief command devolved on Colonel Washington. Recruits were brought forward by Major Muse. The North Carolina troops, to the number of about three hundred and fifty, led by Colonel Innes, arrived at Winchester. The governor was then in that town, holding a council with Indians, and he appointed Innes commander of the expedition, but confirmed Colonel Washington's command of the Virginia regiment.

The appointment of Innes was an unpopular measure in Virginia, as he was from another colony; and the governor was accused of partiality for an old friend and countryman, both he and Innes being Scotchmen by birth. No ill consequences ensued. Neither Colonel Innes nor his troops advanced beyond Winchester. To promote enlistments the men were extravagantly paid; and, when the money raised by the Assembly for their support was expended, they dispersed of their own accord. An Independent Company from South Carolina, consisting of one hundred men under Captain Mackay, arrived at the Great Meadows. Two companies from New York landed at Alexandria, and marched to the interior, but not in time to overtake or succour the army in advance.

It was foreseen by Colonel Washington, that, when the French at Fort Duquesne should get the news of Jumonville's defeat, a strong detachment would be sent out against him. As a preparation for this event, he set all his men at work to enlarge the entrenchment at the Great Meadows, and erect palisades. To the structure thus hastily thrown up he gave the name of *Fort Necessity.*

The Indians, who leaned to the English interest, fled before the French and flocked to the camp, bringing along their wives and children, and putting them under his protection. Among them came Tanacharison and his people, Queen Aliquippa and her son, and other persons of distinction, till between forty and fifty families gathered around him, and laid his magazine of supplies under a heavy contribution. It may be said, once for all, that the burden of supporting these sons of the forest during this campaign, and the perplexities of managing them, were by no means counterbalanced by any advantage derived from their aid. As spies and scouts they were of some service; in the field they did nothing.

The forces at the Great Meadows, including Captain Mackay's company, had now increased to about four hundred men. But a new difficulty arose, which threatened disagreeable consequences. Captain Mackay had a royal commission, which in his opinion put him above the authority of Colonel Washington, who was a colonial officer, commissioned by the governor of Virginia. He was a man of mild and gentlemanly manners, and no personal differences interrupted the harmony between them; but still he declined receiving the orders of the colonel, and his company occupied a separate encampment. At this crisis, when an attack was daily expected, and when a perfect union

of design and action was essential, such a state of things was so unpropitious, that Colonel Washington wrote earnestly to the governor to settle the controversy by a positive order under his own hand. The governor hesitated, because he was not sure, that Captain Mackay's pretensions were inconsistent with the rule adopted by the ministry, namely, that all officers with King's commissions should take rank of those commissioned in the colonies.

To avoid altercation, and prevent the contagious example of disobedience from infecting the troops, Colonel Washington resolved to advance with a large part of his army, and, if not obstructed by the enemy, to go on by the shortest route to the Monongahela River. Captain Mackay's company was left at Fort Necessity, as a guard to that post. The road was to be cleared and levelled for artillery carriages; and the process was so laborious, that it took two weeks to effect a passage through the gorge of the mountains to Gist's settlement, a distance of only thirteen miles. The Indians were troublesome with their speeches, councils, and importunities for presents, particularly a party from the interior, who feigned friendship, but who were discovered to be spies from the French. Due vigilance was practised, and scouts were kept abroad, even as far as the neighbourhood of Fort Duquesne, so that the first motions of the enemy might be detected.

It was at length told by French deserters and Indians, that Fort Duquesne was reinforced by troops from Canada, and that a strong detachment would shortly march against the English. A council of war being called, it was at first thought best to make a stand, and wait the approach of the enemy at Gist's plantation. An intrenchment for defence was begun,

Captain Mackay was requested to come forward with his company, and the scouting parties were ordered to return to the camp. Captain Mackay promptly joined the advanced division; and another council decided, that the enemy's force was so large, as to leave no reasonable hope of a successful resistance, and that a retreat was necessary.

In the face of many obstacles this determination was executed. The horses were few and weak, and a severe service was imposed on the men, who were obliged to bear heavy burdens, and drag nine swivels over a broken road. Colonel Washington set a worthy example to his officers, by lading his horse with public stores, going on foot, and paying the soldiers a reward for carrying his baggage. In two days they all got back to the Great Meadows. It was not the intention to stop there; but the men had become so much fatigued and distressed for the want of provisions, that they could go no further. For eight days they had been without bread. A small quantity of flour only was found at the Great Meadows, but supplies were hourly expected; and, in this exigency, no other course remained, than to fortify themselves as well as they could, and abide the issue of events.

Fort Necessity was situate in a level meadow, about two hundred and fifty yards broad, and covered with long grass and low bushes. The foot of the nearest hills came within one hundred yards of the fort, and at one place within sixty yards. The space between the fort and hills was open and smooth, the bushes having been cleared away. The fort itself was an irregular square, each side measuring thirty-five yards, with a trench partly finished on two sides. The entrances were guarded by three bastions.

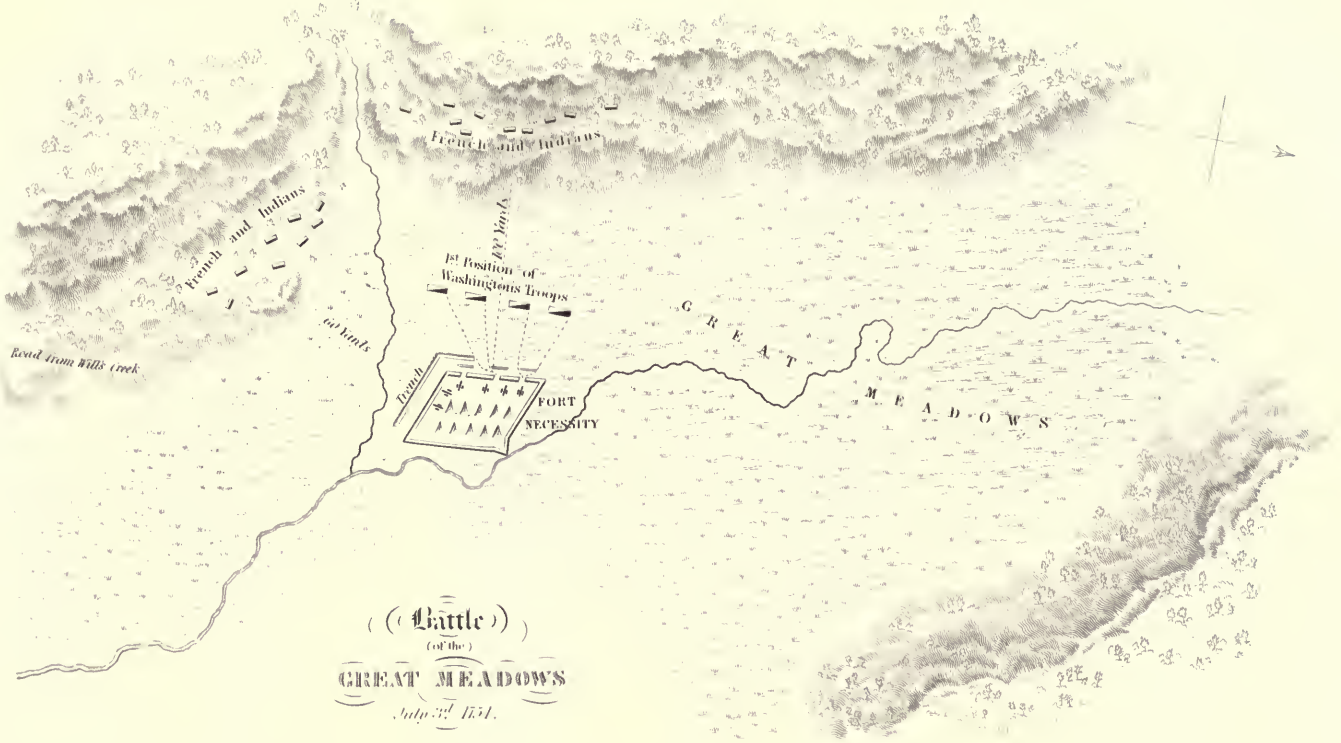
"On the 3d of July early in the morning an alarm

was received from a sentinel, who had been wounded by the enemy; and at nine o'clock intelligence came, that the whole body of the enemy, amounting, as was reported, to nine hundred men, was only four miles off. At eleven o'clock they approached the fort, and began to fire, at the distance of six hundred yards, but without effect. Colonel Washington had drawn up his men on the open and level ground outside of the trenches, waiting for the attack, which he presumed would be made as soon as the enemy's forces emerged from the woods; and he ordered his men to reserve their fire, till they should be near enough to do execution. The distant firing was supposed to be a stratagem to draw Washington's men into the woods, and thus to take them at a disadvantage. He suspected the design, and maintained his post till he found the French did not incline to leave the woods, and attack the fort by an assault, as he supposed they would, considering their superiority of numbers. He then drew his men back within the trenches, and gave them orders to fire according to their discretion, as suitable opportunities might present themselves. The French and Indians remained on the side of the rising ground, which was nearest to the fort, and, sheltered by the trees, kept up a brisk fire of musketry, but never appeared in the open plain below. The rain fell heavily through the day, the trenches were filled with water, and many of the arms of Colonel Washington's men were out of order, and used with difficulty.

"In this way the battle continued from eleven o'clock in the morning till eight at night, when the French called and requested a parley. Suspecting this to be a feint to procure the admission of an officer into the fort, that he might discover their condition, Colonel

Washington at first declined listening to the proposal, but when the call was repeated, with the additional request that an officer might be sent to them, engaging at the same time their parole for his safety, he sent out Captain Vanbraam, the only person under his command, that could speak French, except the Chevalier de Peyrouny, an ensign in the Virginia regiment, who was dangerously wounded, and disabled from rendering any service on this occasion. Vanbraam returned, and brought with him from M. de Villiers, the French commander, proposed articles of capitulation. These he read and pretended to interpret, and, some changes having been made by mutual agreement, both parties signed them about midnight.

"By the terms of the capitulation, the whole garrison was to retire, and return without molestation to the inhabited parts of the country; and the French commander promised, that no embarrassment should be interposed, either by his own men or the savages. The English were to take away every thing in their possession, except their artillery, and to march out of the fort the next morning with the honors of war, their drums beating and colors flying. As the French had killed all the horses and cattle, Colonel Washington had no means of transporting his heavy baggage and stores; and it was conceded to him, that his men might conceal their effects, and that a guard might be left to protect them, till horses could be sent up to take them away. Colonel Washington agreed to restore the prisoners, who had been taken at the skirmish with Jumonville; and, as a surety for this article two hostages, Captain Vanbraam and Captain Stobo, were delivered up to the French, and were to be retained till the prisoners should return. It was moreover agreed, that the party capitulating should not



((Battle))
(of the)
GREAT MEADOWS
July 3d 1754.

attempt to build any more establishments at that place, or beyond the mountains for the space of a year.

"Early the next morning Colonel Washington began to march from the fort in good order, but he had proceeded only a short distance, when a body of one hundred Indians, being a reinforcement to the French, came upon him, and could hardly be restrained from attacking his men. They pilfered the baggage and did other mischief. He marched forward, however, with as much speed as possible, in the weakened and encumbered condition of his army, there being no other mode of conveying the wounded men and the baggage, than on the soldiers' backs. As the provisions were nearly exhausted, no time was to be lost; and, leaving much of the baggage behind, he hastened to Will's Creek, where all the necessary supplies were in store. Thence Colonel Washington and Captain Mackay proceeded to Williamsburg, and communicated in person to the governor the events of the campaign." *

The exact number of men engaged in the action cannot be ascertained. According to a return made out by Colonel Washington himself, the Virginia regiment consisted of three hundred and five, including officers, of whom twelve were killed and forty-three wounded. Captain Mackay's company was supposed to contain about one hundred, but the number of killed and wounded is not known.

The conduct of the commander and of the troops was highly approved by the governor and Council, and received merited applause from the public. As soon as the House of Burgesses assembled, they passed a vote of thanks to Colonel Washington and his officers

* See Washington's Writings, Vol. II. p. 456, Appendix.

"for their bravery and gallant defence of their country." A pistole was granted from the public treasury to each of the soldiers.

Thus commenced the military career of Washington, and thus ended his first campaign. Although as yet a youth, with small experience, unskilled in war, and relying on his own resources, he had behaved with the prudence, address, courage, and firmness of a veteran commander. Rigid in discipline, but sharing the hardships and solicitous for the welfare of his soldiers, he had secured their obedience and won their esteem amidst privations, sufferings, and perils, that have seldom been surpassed.

Notwithstanding the late discomfiture, Governor Dinwiddie's ardor did not abate. It was indeed a foible with him, that his zeal outstripped his knowledge and discretion. Wholly ignorant of military affairs, he undertook to organize the army, prescribe rules, issue orders, form plans of operation, and manage the details. Hence frequent blunders and confusion. Colonel Washington rejoined his regiment, which had marched by way of Winchester to Alexandria. He there received orders to fill up the companies by enlistments, and lead them without delay to Will's Creek, where Colonel Innes was employed in building Fort Cumberland, with the remnant of the North Carolina troops, and the three independent companies, that had come to Virginia from South Carolina and New York. It was the governor's project, that the united forces should immediately cross the Alleganies, and drive the French from Fort Duquesne, or build another fort beyond the mountains.

Astonished that such a scheme should be contemplated, at a season of the year when the mountains would be rendered impassable by the snows and rigor

of the climate, and with an army destitute of supplies, feeble in numbers, and worn down by fatigue, Colonel Washington wrote a letter of strong remonstrance to a member of the governor's Council, representing the absurdity and even impossibility of such an enterprise. His regiment was reduced by death, wounds, and sickness. He was ordered to obtain recruits, but not a farthing of money had been provided. He was ordered to march, but his men had neither arms, tents, ammunition, clothing, nor provisions, sufficient to enable them to take the field, and no means existed for procuring them. It is enough to say, that the scheme was abandoned.

The governor was destined to struggle with difficulties, and to have his hopes defeated. The Assembly were so perverse, as not to yield to all his demands, and he never ceased to complain of their "republican way of thinking," and to deplore their want of respect for the authority of his office and the prerogative of the crown. He had lately prorogued them, as a punishment for their obstinacy, and written to the ministry, that the representatives of the people seemed to him infatuated, and that he was satisfied "the progress of the French would never be effectually opposed, but by means of an act of Parliament to compel the colonies to contribute to the common cause independently of assemblies." When the burgesses came together again, however, he was consoled by their good nature in granting twenty thousand pounds for the public service; and he soon received ten thousand pounds in specie from the government in England for the same object.

Thus encouraged he formed new plans, and as the gift of ten thousand pounds was under his control, he could appropriate it as he pleased. He enlarged the

army to ten companies, of one hundred men each, and put the whole upon the establishment of independent companies, by which the highest officers in the Virginia regiment would be captains, and even these inferior to officers of the same rank holding King's commissions. The effect was to reduce Colonel Washington to the rank of captain, and put him under officers whom he had commanded. Such a degradation, of course, was not to be submitted to by a high-minded man. He resigned his commission, and retired from the army.

Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, soon after received an appointment from the King as commander-in-chief of the forces employed to act against the French. Knowing Colonel Washington's character, and the importance of his aid, Governor Sharpe solicited him, by a letter from himself and another from one of his officers, to resume his station. It was intimated, that he might hold his former commission. "This idea," said Washington in reply, "has filled me with surprise; for, if you think me capable of holding a commission, that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the commission itself." He promptly declined the invitation, and added; "I shall have the consolation of knowing, that I have opened the way, when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a superior enemy; and that I have had the thanks of my country for the services I have rendered."

Thus sustained within himself, neither seeking redress nor venting complaints, he passed the winter in retirement. He acknowledged his partiality, however, for the profession of arms, and his ambition to acquire experience and skill in the military art. Nor did he wait long for an opportunity to gratify his wishes.

Early in the spring, General Braddock landed in Virginia, with two regiments of regular troops from Great Britain, which it was supposed would bear down all opposition, and drive back the intruding French to Canada. The people were elated with joy, and already the war on the frontier seemed hastening to an end. Colonel Washington acceded to a request from General Braddock to take part in the campaign as one of his military family, in which he would retain his former rank, and the objections on that score would be obviated.

His views on the subject were explained, with a becoming frankness and elevation of mind, in a letter to a friend. "I may be allowed," said he, "to claim some merit, if it is considered that the sole motive, which invites me to the field, is the laudable desire of serving my country, not the gratification of any ambitious or lucrative plans. This, I flatter myself, will manifestly appear by my going as a volunteer without expectation of reward, or prospect of obtaining a command, as I am confidently assured it is not in General Braddock's power to give me a commission that I would accept." Again, "If there is any merit in my case, I am unwilling to hazard it among my friends, without this exposition of facts, as they might conceive that some advantageous offers had engaged my services, when, in reality, it is otherwise, for I expect to be a considerable loser in my private affairs by going. It is true I have been importuned to make this campaign by General Braddock, as a member of his family, he conceiving, I suppose, that the small knowledge I have had an opportunity of acquiring of the country and the Indians is worthy of his notice, and may be useful to him in the progress of the expedition." Influenced by these honorable and generous

motives, he accepted the offer, and prepared to engage in the service as a volunteer.

Several companies of Braddock's two regiments were cantoned at Alexandria, at which place the commander himself met the governors of five colonies, in order to concert a general scheme of military operations. Colonel Washington was introduced to these gentlemen; and the manner in which he was received by them gave a flattering testimony of the consideration, which his name and character had already inspired. With the deportment and civilities of Governor Shirley he was particularly pleased.

General Braddock marched to the interior, and was overtaken by Colonel Washington at Winchester, when the latter assumed the station and duties of aid-de-camp. The troops followed in divisions by different routes, and all assembled at Will's Creek. Here the general was disappointed, vexed, and thrown into paroxysms of ill humor, at not finding in readiness the horses and wagons, which had been promised, and on which he depended for transporting the baggage, tents, provisions, and artillery beyond that post. The contractors had proved faithless, either from neglect or inability.

The embarrassment was at last removed by the patriotic zeal and activity of Franklin. Being postmaster-general of the provinces, he visited the commander during his march, with the view of devising some plan to facilitate the transmission of the mail to and from the army. On certain conditions he agreed to procure one hundred and fifty wagons, and the requisite number of horses. By prompt exertions, and by his influence among the farmers of Pennsylvania, he obtained them all and sent them to Will's Creek. This act was praised by General Braddock in a letter to

the ministry; but he passed a severe censure upon the authorities of the country by adding, "that it was the only instance of address and integrity, which he had seen in the provinces." It is true, that by this timely aid alone his army was enabled to move.

While these preparations were in progress, Colonel Washington was sent on a mission to Williamsburg to procure money for the military chest. The trust was executed with despatch and success. On returning to camp he found, that a detachment of five hundred men had marched in advance; and all the troops were immediately put in motion, except a small party left as a guard at Fort Cumberland. The scene was new to the general and his officers, and obstacles presented themselves at every step, which they had not anticipated. The roughness of the road made it impossible for the usual number of horses to drag the wagons, loaded as they were, not only with the supplies and munitions, but with superfluous baggage and the camp equipage of the officers; and they were obliged to double the teams, thus detaining the whole train of wagons, till those in front were forced along by this tedious process.

It was soon apparent, that, with these hindrances, the season might be consumed in crossing the mountains. A council of war was resorted to; but before it met, the general privately asked the opinion of Colonel Washington. "I urged him," said he, "in the warmest terms I was able, to push forward, if he even did it with a small but chosen band, with such artillery and light stores as were necessary, leaving the heavy artillery and baggage with the rear division to follow by slow and easy marches, which they might do safely while we were advancing in front." His reason for pressing this measure was, that, from the best advices,

an accession of force was shortly expected at Fort Duquesne, and that it was of the utmost moment to make the attack before such an event should occur. It was moreover important to divide the army, because the narrowness of the road, and the difficulty of getting the wagons along, caused it to be stretched into a line four miles in length, by which the soldiers were so much scattered, that they might be attacked and routed at any point, even by small parties, before a proper force could be brought to their support.

These suggestions prevailed in the council, and were approved by the general. The army was separated into two divisions. Braddock led the advanced division of twelve hundred men lightly equipped, taking only such carriages and articles as were absolutely essential. Colonel Dunbar, with the residue of the army, about six hundred, remained in the rear.

At this time Colonel Washington was seized with a raging fever, which was so violent as to alarm the physician; and, as an act of humanity, the general ordered him to proceed no further, till the danger was over; with a solemn pledge, that he should be brought up to the front of the army before it should reach the French fort. Consigned to a wagon, and to the physician's care, he continued with the rear division nearly two weeks, when he was enabled to be moved forward by slow stages, but not without much pain from weakness and the jolting of the vehicle. He overtook the general at the mouth of the Youghiogany River, fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne, the evening before the battle of the Monongahela.

"The officers and soldiers were now in the highest spirits, and firm in the conviction, that they should within a few hours victoriously enter the walls of Fort Duquesne. The steep and rugged grounds, on the

north side of the Monongahela, prevented the army from marching in that direction, and it was necessary in approaching the fort, now about fifteen miles distant, to ford the river twice, and march a part of the way on the south side. Early on the morning of the 9th, all things were in readiness, and the whole train passed through the river a little below the mouth of the Youghiogany, and proceeded in perfect order along the southern margin of the Monongahela. Washington was often heard to say during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on their right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left Officers and men were equally inspirited with cheering hopes and confident anticipations.

"In this manner they marched forward till about noon, when they arrived at the second crossing-place, ten miles from Fort Duquesne. They halted but a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. As soon as they had crossed, they came upon a level plain, elevated only a few feet above the surface of the river, and extending northward nearly half a mile from its margin. Then commenced a gradual ascent at an angle of about three degrees, which terminated in hills of a considerable height at no great distance beyond. The road from the fording-place to Fort Duquesne led across the plain and up this ascent, and thence proceeded through an uneven country, at that time covered with wood.

"By the order of march, a body of three hundred men, under Colonel Gage, made the advanced party,

which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came the general with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. At one o'clock, the whole had crossed the river, and almost at this moment a sharp firing was heard upon the advanced parties, who were now ascending the hill, and had proceeded about a hundred yards from the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musketry was poured in upon their front, which was the first intelligence they had of the proximity of an enemy, and this was suddenly followed by another on their right flank. They were filled with the greater consternation, as no enemy was in sight, and the firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. They fired in their turn, however, but quite at random and obviously without effect.

"The general hastened forward to the relief of the advanced parties; but, before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion, and striking the whole mass with such a panic, that no order could afterwards be restored. The general and the officers behaved with the utmost courage, and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops, who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the general, who endeavoured to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been

manœuvring on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half of the whole army, which had crossed the river in so proud an array only three hours before, were killed or wounded. The general himself received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers fell by his side." *

During the whole of the action, as reported by an officer who witnessed his conduct, Colonel Washington behaved with "the greatest courage and resolution." Captains Orme and Morris, the two other aids-de-camp, were wounded and disabled, and the duty of distributing the general's orders devolved on him alone. He rode in every direction, and was a conspicuous mark for the enemy's sharp-shooters. "By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence," said he, in a letter to his brother, "I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet I escaped unhurt, although death was levelling my companions on every side of me." So bloody a contest has rarely been witnessed. The number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. On the other hand, the enemy's loss was small. Their force amounted at least to eight hundred and fifty men, of whom six hundred were Indians. According to the returns, not more than forty were killed. They fought

* See Washington's Writings, Vol. II. p. 469, Appendix.

in deep ravines, concealed by the bushes, and the balls of the English passed over their heads.

The remnant of Braddock's army being put to flight, and having recrossed the river, Colonel Washington hastened to meet Colonel Dunbar, and order up horses and wagons for the wounded. Three days were occupied in retreating to Gist's plantation. The enemy did not pursue them. Satiated with carnage and plunder, the Indians could not be tempted from the battle-field, and the French were too few to act without their aid. The unfortunate general, dying of his wounds, was transported first in a tumbril, then on a horse, and at last was carried by the soldiers. He expired the fourth day after the battle, and was buried in the road near Fort Necessity. A new panic seized the troops; disorder and confusion reigned; the artillery was destroyed; the public stores and heavy baggage were burnt, no one could tell by whose orders; nor were discipline and tranquillity restored, till the straggling and bewildered companies arrived at Fort Cumberland. Colonel Washington, no longer connected with the service, and debilitated by his late illness, stayed there a few days to regain strength, and then returned to Mount Vernon.*

"* A report has long been current in Pennsylvania, that Braddock was shot by one of his own men, founded on the declaration of a provincial soldier, who was in the action. There is another tradition, also, worthy of notice, which rests on the authority of Dr. Craik, the intimate friend of Washington from his boyhood to his death, and who was with him at the battle of the Monongahela. Fifteen years after that event, they travelled together on an expedition to the western country, with a party of woodsmen, for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio Rivers, a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged and venerable chief. This personage made known to them by the interpreter, that, hearing Colonel Washington was in that region, he had come a long way to visit him, adding, that, during the battle of the Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his

Such was the termination of an enterprise, one of the most memorable in American history, and almost unparalleled for its disasters, and the universal disappointment and consternation it occasioned. Notwithstanding its total and even disgraceful failure, the bitter invectives everywhere poured out against its principal conductors, and the reproaches heaped upon the memory of its ill-fated commander, yet the fame and character of Washington were greatly enhanced by it. His intrepidity and good conduct were lauded by his companions in arms, and proclaimed from province to province. Contrary to his will, and in spite of his efforts, he had gathered laurels from the defeat and ruin of others. Had the expedition been successful, these laurels would have adorned the brow of his superiors. It might have been said of him, that he had done his duty, and acquitted himself honorably; but he could not have been the prominent and single object of public regard; nor could he, by a long series of common events, have risen to so high an eminence, or acquired in so wide a sphere the admiration and confidence of the people. For himself, for his country, for mankind, therefore, this catastrophe, in appearance so calamitous and so deeply deplored at the time, should unquestionably be considered as a wise and beneficent dispensation of Providence.

It was known, that he gave prudent counsel to General Braddock, which was little heeded. During the march, a body of Indians offered their services,

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rifle at him many times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but to his utter astonishment none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded, that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and ceased to fire at him any longer. He was now come to pay homage to the man, who was the particular favorite of Heaven, and who could never die in battle." — *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. p. 475, Appendix.

which, at the earnest recommendation and request of Washington, were accepted, but in so cold a manner, and the Indians were treated with so much neglect, that they withdrew one after another in disgust. On the evening preceding the action, they came again to camp, and renewed their offer. Again Colonel Washington interposed, and urged the importance of these men as scouts and out-guards, their knowledge of the ground, and skill in fighting among woods. Relying on the prowess of his regular troops, and disdaining such allies, the general peremptorily refused to receive them, in a tone not more decided than ungracious.* Had a scouting party of a dozen Indians preceded the army after it crossed the Monongahela, they would have detected the enemy in the ravines, and reversed the fortunes of the day.

General Braddock was a brave man and an experienced officer; but, arrogant and obstinate, he had the weakness, at all times a folly and in his case an infatuation, to despise his enemy. Ignorant of the country, of the mode of warfare in which he was engaged, and of the force opposed to him, he refused counsel, neglected precautions, and thus lost his life.

* This was told to me by William Butler, a very old man, who had been a soldier in the action of the Monongahela, and who said he was standing as sentinel at the door of the General's tent, and heard the conversation. Seventy-five years after the battle, there were at least two men living in Pennsylvania, who were engaged in it.

CHAPTER IV.

Colonel Washington appointed Commander-in-chief of the Virginia Forces. — Distresses of the Frontier Inhabitants. — Reforms in the Arrangement and Discipline of the Army. — Difficulties with an Officer holding a King's Commission concerning Rank. — Washington visits General Shirley at Boston upon this Subject. — His Claim confirmed. — Returns and repairs to his Head-quarters at Winchester. — Embarrassments of his Situation. — Testimonies of Confidence in his Character and Ability. — Occurrences of the Campaign. — Incursions of the Savages. — Plan of Fortifications for the Interior. — Fort Cumberland. — Memorial presented by Colonel Washington to the Earl of Loudoun on the State of Military Affairs in Virginia.

Although Colonel Washington retired to a private station at Mount Vernon, he did not neglect his duties to the public. Still holding the office of adjutant-general of the militia, he circulated orders for them to assemble at certain times and places to be exercised and reviewed. So much were the inhabitants alarmed at the recent successes of the enemy, that their martial spirit received a new impulse, and volunteer companies began to be organized. Their ardor was stimulated from the pulpit, and it was in a sermon to one of these companies, that the accomplished and eloquent Samuel Davies pronounced the celebrated encomium in a single sentence, which has often been quoted as prophetic. After praising the zeal and courage, which had been shown by the Virginia troops, the preacher added; "As a remarkable instance of this, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." This was but the echo of the general voice, and it is a proof of the high estimation in which the character of Washington was at

this time held by his countrymen, and of the hopes it had raised.

Another and more substantial proof soon followed. The Virginia legislature voted forty thousand pounds for the public service, and enlarged their regiment to sixteen companies. Three hundred pounds were likewise granted to Colonel Washington, and proportional sums to the other officers and privates, "for their gallant behaviour and losses" at the battle of the Monongahela.

While the bill was pending, his friends in the Assembly wrote to him, urging his attendance at Williamsburg, and expressing their wishes, that he might be appointed to the command of the army under its new organization. Interest was made for another person, which was known to be countenanced by the governor's predilections. To these letters, and particularly to one from his elder brother, then a member of the Assembly, he replied in language worthy of himself, dignified, disinterested, firm. He said that he had served two campaigns, besides performing a perilous journey, had suffered much in his health and affairs, had been deprived of his commission in a way to wound his feelings, had gone out and fought as a volunteer, and that the result of the whole was vexation and disappointment. He added, however, "I am always willing and ready to render my country any services that I am capable of, but never upon the terms I have done." He did not absolutely refuse to accept the command, if it should be offered, but said he would not seek what he did not covet, nor be thought to solicit what he would receive only as voluntarily bestowed by his countrymen. Standing on this high ground, he prescribed several conditions as essential; among others, a voice in choosing his officers, a better

system of military regulations, more promptness in paying the troops, and a thorough reform, inducing activity and method, in all the departments for procuring supplies.

No one, probably, was more surprised than himself, that all his requisitions should be complied with. The appointment was confirmed in the fullest latitude of his demands, with the additional privilege of an aid-de-camp and secretary. He had been at home but four weeks, when he was called to Williamsburg to receive his instructions and make arrangements for organizing the new army. Public opinion had subdued the governor's partiality for another candidate, and he acquiesced with apparent satisfaction. In a letter to the ministry, he spoke of Colonel Washington as "a man of great merit and resolution," adding, "I am convinced, if General Braddock had survived, he would have recommended him to the royal favor, which I beg your interest in recommending." How far the minister's interest was effectual is uncertain; but no royal favor to Washington ever crossed the Atlantic.

Being now established in a command of high responsibility, he applied himself to the discharge of its duties with his accustomed energy and circumspection. Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen and Major Andrew Lewis were the field-officers next in rank. His headquarters were fixed at Winchester. After putting affairs in train, sending out recruiting officers, and reporting to the governor the state of the old regiment and estimates for the new, he performed a tour of inspection among the mountains, visiting all the outposts along the frontier from Fort Cumberland to Fort Dinwiddie on Jackson's River, giving the necessary orders, and obtaining, from personal observation, a knowledge of every thing within the compass of his

command. Scarcely was this service completed, when an express overtook him, on his way to Williamsburg, bringing intelligence that the Indians had broken into the back settlements, committed ravages and murders, and spread terror on every side. He hastened back to head-quarters, called in the recruits, summoned the militia to assemble, and ordered out such a force as he could muster to repel the ruthless invaders. The check was timely and effectual, but not such as to quiet the fears of the inhabitants, who flocked in families from their homes; and so great was the panic, that many of them continued their flight till they had crossed the Blue Ridge.

On this occasion the patience and sensibility of the commander, as well as his discretion and address, were put to a severe trial. On one hand, he witnessed with an aching heart the dangers, wants, and distresses of the inhabitants; on the other, he experienced all the evils of insubordination among the troops, perverseness in the militia, inactivity in the officers, disregard of orders, and reluctance in the civil authorities to render a proper support. And what added to his mortification was, that the laws gave him no power to correct these evils, either by enforcing discipline, or compelling the indolent and refractory to do their duty. The army regulations had been reformed, but they were still deficient in the essential articles for preventing desertions, punishing offences, and securing obedience. The militia system was suited only to times of peace. It provided for calling out men to repel invasion; but the powers granted for effecting it were so limited, as to be almost inoperative.

These defects, and their fatal consequences, were represented in strong language by Colonel Washington, in his official communications to the governor and to

the Speaker of the Assembly. All ears seemed dull to his remonstrances and closed to his counsels. Such, to use his own words, was the fear of displeasing the people, who were "so tenacious of their liberty, as not to invest a power where interest and policy so unanswerably demanded it." By dint of perseverance, however, by attending in person at the seat of government and conversing with individual members, by persuasion and argument, by force of truth and reason, he at last prevailed. A bill was carried through the House, in which were included all the articles required, providing for the punishment of mutiny, desertion, and disobedience, for holding courts-martial, and for maintaining order and discipline. This success relieved him from a weight, which had hung heavily upon his thoughts. It was also a gratifying testimony of the respect entertained for his opinions and judgment. He returned to his station with a renovated spirit. It was too late in the season to meditate a campaign, or offensive operations. To fill up the army, reduce it to method, train the men, strengthen and secure the outposts, construct new forts, and provide supplies for the winter, were the objects demanding his attention. These tasks were executed with unremitted assiduity. When his presence could be dispensed with at headquarters, he visited the places of rendezvous and the principal posts, exercising, by his orders and personal oversight, a general superintendence, and thus promoting unity, system, and efficiency in every part.

There was a circumstance at this time connected with his command, which caused discontent both to himself and his officers. At Fort Cumberland was a Captain Dagworthy, commissioned by Governor Sharpe, who had under him a small company of Maryland troops. This person had held a royal commission in

the last war, upon which he now plumed himself, refusing obedience to any provincial officer, however high in rank. Hence, whenever Colonel Washington was at Fort Cumberland, the Maryland captain would pay no regard to his orders. The example was mischievous, and kept the garrison in perpetual feuds and insubordination. The affair was laid in due form before Governor Dinwiddie, and his positive order in the case was requested. Not caring to venture his authority in deciding a doubtful question, the governor refrained from interference, but at the same time told Colonel Washington that the pretensions of Dagworthy were frivolous; and he seemed not a little incensed, that a captain with thirty men should presume to dispute the rank of the commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, who had been commissioned under his own hand. In short, he intimated to Colonel Washington, that Dagworthy might be arrested, according to military usage; taking care, nevertheless, to give no order on the subject.

This vacillation of the governor only increased the embarrassment. In the first place, the fort was in Maryland, and Dagworthy acted under the governor of that colony, who was known to encourage his claim. Again, in General Braddock's time, Dagworthy, on the ground of his old commission, had been put above provincial officers of higher rank. With these precedents before him, Colonel Washington did not choose to hazard an arrest, for which he might himself be called to account. He was prompt, however, in his determination, either to resign his commission, as he had formerly done for a similar reason, or to have this difficulty removed.

As a last resort, it was proposed to refer the matter to General Shirley, now the commander-in-chief of his

Majesty's armies in America; and it was the request of the officers, that the petition should be presented by Colonel Washington in person. The proposal was approved by the governor, who consented to his absence, and furnished him with letters to the General and other persons of distinction.

Despatching orders to Colonel Stephen, who was left with the command of the Virginia troops, he made no delay in preparing for his departure. He commenced his tour on the 4th of February, 1756. General Shirley was at Boston. A journey of five hundred miles was to be performed in the depth of winter. Attended by his aid-de-camp, Captain Mercer, and by Captain Stewart, he travelled the whole way on horseback, pursuing the route through Philadelphia, New York, New London, and Rhode Island. He stopped several days in the principal cities, where his character, and the curiosity to see a person so renowned for his bravery and miraculous escape at Braddock's defeat, procured for him much notice. He was politely received by General Shirley, who acceded to his petition in its fullest extent, giving a pointed order in writing, that Dagworthy should be subject to his command. The journey was advantageous in other respects. The plan of operations for the coming campaign was explained to him by the General; and he formed acquaintances and acquired knowledge eminently useful to him at a future day. He was absent from Virginia seven weeks.

While in New York, he was lodged and kindly entertained at the house of Mr. Beverley Robinson, between whom and himself an intimacy of friendship subsisted, which indeed continued without change, till severed by their opposite fortunes twenty years afterwards in the revolution. It happened that Miss Mary

Phillips, a sister of Mrs. Robinson, and a young lady of rare accomplishments, was an inmate in the family. The charms of this lady made a deep impression upon the heart of the Virginia Colonel. He went to Boston, returned, and was again welcomed to the hospitality of Mr. Robinson. He lingered there, till duty called him away; but he was careful to intrust his secret to a confidential friend, whose letters kept him informed of every important event. In a few months intelligence came, that a rival was in the field, and that the consequences could not be answered for, if he delayed to renew his visits to New York. Whether time, the bustle of a camp, or the scenes of war, had moderated his admiration, or whether he despaired of success, is not known. He never saw the lady again, till she was married to that same rival, Captain Morris, his former associate in arms, and one of Braddock's aids-de-camp.

He had before felt the influence of the tender passion. At the age of seventeen he was smitten by the graces of a fair one, whom he called a "Lowland beauty," and whose praises he recorded in glowing strains, while wandering with his surveyor's compass among the Allegany Mountains. On that occasion he wrote desponding letters to a friend, and indited plaintive verses, but never ventured to reveal his emotions to the lady, who was unconsciously the cause of his pains.

As the Assembly was to convene just at the time of his return, he hastened to Williamsburg in order to mature a plan for employing the army during the summer. The idea of offensive operations was abandoned at the outset. Neither artillery, engineers, nor the means of transportation necessary for such an object, could be procured. Pennsylvania and Maryland, aroused

at last from their apathy, had appropriated money for defence; but, not inclined to unite with Virginia or each other in any concerted measures, they were contented to expend their substance in fortifying their own borders. If a more liberal policy had predominated, if these colonies had smothered their local jealousies, and looked only to their common interests, they might by a single combined effort have driven the French from the Ohio, and rested in quiet the remainder of the war. There being no hope of such a result, it was foreseen by the Virginians, that the most strenuous exertions would be requisite to defend the long line of their frontiers against the inroads of the savages.

The Assembly readily came to a determination, therefore, to augment the army to fifteen hundred men. A bill was enacted for drafting militia to supply the deficiency of recruits, and commissioners were appointed to superintend the business, of whom the Speaker was chairman. These drafted men were to serve till December, to be incorporated into the army, and subjected to the military code. By an express clause in the law, they could not be marched out of the province.

Colonel Washington repaired to his head-quarters at Winchester. A few men only were stationed there, the regiment being mostly dispersed at different posts in the interior, so situated as to afford the best protection to the inhabitants. The enemy were on the alert. Scarcely a day passed without new accounts of Indian depredations and massacres. The scouting parties and even the forts were attacked, and many of the soldiers and some of the bravest officers killed. So bold were the savages, that they committed robberies and murders within twenty miles of Winchester, and serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of that place. The feelings of the commander,

deeply affected by the scenes he witnessed, and his inability to extend relief, are vividly portrayed in a letter to the governor.

"Your Honor may see," said he, "to what unhappy straits the distressed inhabitants and myself are reduced. I am too little acquainted, Sir, with pathetic language to attempt a description of the people's distresses, though I have a generous soul, sensible of wrongs, and swelling for redress. But what can I do? I see their situation, know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief, than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in forts, must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuse cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting upon me in particular, for suffering misconduct of such extraordinary kinds, and the distant prospect, if any, of gaining honor and reputation in the service, — cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command from which I never expect to reap either honor or benefit; but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here! The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."

These agonizing sensations were heightened by a circumstance here alluded to, the more painful because he conceived it to be the offspring of injustice and ingratitude, and a reflection upon his honor and fidelity as an officer. Rumors were circulated to the disparagement of the army, charging the officers with gross irregularities and neglect of duty, and indirectly throwing the blame upon the commander. A malicious person filled a gazette with tales of this sort, which seemed for the moment to receive public countenance. Conscious of having acted with the utmost vigilance, knowing the falsehood and wickedness of these slanders, and indignant at so base a manœuvre to stain his character, it was his first impulse to retire from a station, in which patriotism, the purest intentions, hardships, and sacrifices, were rewarded only with calumny and reproach.

This intimation was viewed by his friends in the House of Burgesses and the Council with much concern, as their letters testified. Mingling approbation with remonstrance, and praise with advice, they made such representations, as it was not easy for him to disregard. "You cannot but know," said Landon Carter, "that nothing but want of power in your country * has prevented it from adding every honor and reward that perfect merit could have entitled itself to. How are we grieved to hear Colonel George Washington hinting to his country, that he is willing to retire! Give me leave, as your intimate friend, to persuade you to forget, that any thing has been said to your dishonor; and recollect, that it could not have come from any man that knew you. And, as it may have been the artifice of one in no esteem among your

* Meaning by *country* the popular branch of the legislature, or the people of Virginia generally.

countrymen, to raise in you such unjust suspicions, as would induce you to desert the cause, that his own preferment might meet with no obstacle, I am confident you will endeavour to give us the good effects, not only of duty, but of great cheerfulness and satisfaction in such a service. No, Sir, rather let Braddock's bed be your aim, than any thing that might discolor those laurels, which I promise myself are kept in store for you." Another friend wrote; "From my constant attendance in the House, I can with great truth say, I never heard your conduct questioned. Whenever you are mentioned, it is with the greatest respect. Your orders and instructions appear in a light worthy of the most experienced officer. I can assure you, that a very great majority of the House prefer you to any other person."

Colonel Fairfax, his early patron, and a member of the governor's Council, wrote in terms still more soothing. "Your endeavours in the service and defence of your country must redound to your honor; therefore do not let any unavoidable interruptions sicken your mind in the attempts you may pursue. Your good health and fortune are the toast of every table. Among the Romans, such a general acclamation and public regard, shown to any of their chieftains, were always esteemed a high honor, and gratefully accepted." The Speaker of the House of Burgesses expressed similar sentiments, in language equally flattering and kind. "Our hopes, dear George, are all fixed on you for bringing our affairs to a happy issue. Consider of what fatal consequences to your country your resigning the command at this time may be; more especially as there is no doubt most of the officers would follow your example. I hope you will allow your ruling passion, the love of your country, to stifle your resent-

ment, at least till the arrival of Lord Loudoun, or the meeting of the Assembly, when you may be sure of having justice done. Who those of your pretended friends are, who give credit to the malicious reflections in that scandalous libel, I assure you I am ignorant, and do declare, that I never heard any man of honor or reputation speak the least disrespectfully of you, or censure your conduct, and there is no well-wisher to his country, that would not be greatly concerned to hear of your resigning."

The same solicitude was manifested by many persons in different parts of the province. A voice so loud and so unanimous he could not refuse to obey. By degrees the plot was unravelled. The governor, being a Scotchman, was surrounded by a knot of his Caledonian friends, who wished to profit by this alliance, and obtain for themselves a larger share of consideration, than they could command in the present order of things. The discontented, and such as thought their merits undervalued, naturally fell into this faction. To create dissatisfaction in the army, and cause the officers to resign from disgust, would not only distract the councils of the ruling party, but make room for new promotions. Colonel Innes, the governor's favorite, would ascend to the chief command, and the subordinate places would be reserved for his adherents. Hence false rumors were set afloat, and the pen of detraction was busy to disseminate them. The artifice was easily seen through, and its aims were defeated, by the leaders on the patriotic side, who looked to Colonel Washington as a pillar of support to their cause.

The campaign, being a defensive one, presented no opportunities for acquiring glory; but the demands on the resources and address of the commander were not the less pressing. The scene varied little from that

of the preceding year, except that the difficulties were more numerous and complicated. There were the same unceasing incursions of the savages, but more sanguinary and terrifying, the same tardiness in the enlistments, the same troubles with the militia, the same neglect in supplying the wants of the army; and on every side were heard murmurs of discontent from the soldiers, and cries of distress from the inhabitants.

And what increased these vexations was, that the governor, tenacious of his authority, intrusted as little power as possible to the head of the army. Totally unskilled in military affairs, and residing two hundred miles from the scene of action, he yet undertook to regulate the principal operations, sending expresses back and forth, and issuing vague and contradictory orders, seldom adapted to circumstances, frequently impracticable. This absurd interference was borne with becoming patience and fortitude by the commander-in-chief; but not without keen remonstrance to the Speaker of the Assembly and other friends, against being made responsible for military events, while the power to control them was withheld, or so heavily clogged as to paralyze its action. The patriotic party in the legislature sympathized with him, and would gladly have procured redress, had not the governor possessed prerogatives, which they could not encroach upon, and which he seemed ambitious to exercise; the more so, perhaps, as the leaders of the majority, learning his foible in this respect, had thwarted many of his schemes, and especially had assumed to themselves the appropriation of the public moneys, which by ancient usage had been under the direction of the governor and Council.

The summer and autumn were passed in skirmishes with the Indians, repairing the old forts, and building

new ones. By the advice of Colonel Washington a large fort was begun at Winchester, as a depository for the military stores, and a rallying-point for the settlers and troops, should they be driven from the frontiers. It was called Fort Loudoun, in honor of the Earl of Loudoun, who had now succeeded General Shirley in the American command.

Another enterprise of greater magnitude was likewise set on foot by order of the Assembly; which was a line of forts extending through the ranges of the Allegany Mountains from the Potomac River to the borders of North Carolina, a distance of more than three hundred miles, thus forming a barrier to the whole frontier. The scheme was not liked by the governor. Colonel Washington disapproved it. He objected, that the forts would be too far asunder to support each other, that the Indians might pass between them unmolested, that they would be expensive, and cause the troops to be so much dispersed as to prevent their being brought together on an emergency, thus tempting the enemy to come out in large parties and attack the weaker points. He believed, that three or four strong garrisons would constitute a better defence. In conformity with his instructions, however, he drew up a plan embracing a chain of twenty-three forts, and fixing their several positions. He sent out parties to execute the works, and visited them himself from time to time. On one occasion he made a tour throughout the whole line to the southern limits of Virginia, exposed to imminent danger from the savages, who hovered around the small forts, and lay in wait to intercept and murder all who came in their way.

In the midst of these toils, another source of vexation occurred in the affair of Fort Cumberland. As

this was now an outpost accessible to the enemy, easily assailed from the hills surrounding it, and containing a large quantity of stores, which required a guard of one hundred and fifty men, who might suddenly be cut off, Colonel Washington advised the removal of the stores to a safer position. The post was, moreover, in Maryland, and ought to be supported, if kept up at all, at the expense of that colony. For some reason not explained, the governor had set his heart on retaining Fort Cumberland. He said it was a King's fort, and he wrote to Lord Loudoun in such terms, as to draw from him, not only a peremptory order to keep the fort, but an implied censure on the designs and conduct of Colonel Washington in regard to it. So far did the governor suffer his warmth and obstinacy to carry him, that he ordered Fort Cumberland to be strengthened by calling in the smaller garrisons, and even drawing away the troops from Winchester, thus deranging the plan of operations, which the Assembly had authorized, and which the whole army had been employed during the season to effect.

It is no wonder, that the commander's patience and equanimity began to forsake him. In a letter to the Speaker, he said; "The late order reverses, confuses, and incommodes every thing; to say nothing of the extraordinary expense of carriage, disappointments, losses, and alterations, which must fall heavy on the country. Whence it arises, or why, I am truly ignorant; but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers are disregarded, as idle and frivolous; my propositions and measures, as partial and selfish; and all my sincerest endeavours for the service of my country are perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful, and uncertain; to-day approved, to-morrow condemned.

Left to act and proceed at hazard, accountable for the consequences, and blamed without the benefit of defence, if you can think my situation capable of exciting the smallest degree of envy, or affording the least satisfaction, the truth is yet hidden from you, and you entertain notions very different from the reality of the case. However, I am determined to bear up under all these embarrassments some time longer, in hope of a better regulation on the arrival of Lord Loudoun, to whom I look for the future fate of Virginia." The Speaker replied; "I am truly concerned at the uneasiness you are under in your present situation, and the more so, as I am sensible you have too much reason for it. The present unhappy state of our country must fill the mind of every well-wisher to it with dismal and gloomy apprehensions; and without some speedy alteration in our counsels, which may God send, the fate of it must soon be determined."

The year was now drawing to a close. As the Earl of Loudoun was expected soon in Virginia, Colonel Washington resolved to await his arrival, and lay before him a general exposition of the state of affairs, and if possible to have the Virginia troops put upon the regular establishment under the direction of his Lordship, as the only mode by which the command of them could be useful to his country, or honorable to himself. In anticipation of this event he drew up an able and luminous statement, which he transmitted to Lord Loudoun, then with the armies at the north.

The paper begins with a modest apology for intruding upon his Lordship's notice, which is followed by a brief sketch of the history of the war in Virginia, and of the part acted in it by the author. With the discrimination of an acute observer and an experienced officer, he traced a narrative of events, exposed the

errors that had been committed and their consequences, both in the civil and military departments, explained their causes, and suggested remedies for the future. The communication was favorably received, and acknowledged in a complimentary reply.

Lord Loudoun did not execute his first purpose of going to Virginia, but summoned a meeting of several governors and principal officers at Philadelphia, to consult on a comprehensive plan for the next campaign. Colonel Washington attended the meeting, where he met with a flattering reception from the commander-in-chief, who solicited and duly valued his counsels. The result, however, was only a partial fulfilment of his hopes. In the grand scheme of operations it was decided, that the main efforts should be made on the Lakes and Canada borders, where the enemy's forces were embodied, and that the middle and southern colonies should continue in a defensive posture. He had the satisfaction to find, nevertheless, that his advice was followed in regard to local arrangements. The Virginia troops were withdrawn from Fort Cumberland, which was left to the charge of Maryland. Colonel Stanwix was stationed in the interior of Pennsylvania, with five companies from the Royal American Regiments; and, although the Virginia commander was unsuccessful in his endeavours to be placed upon the British establishment, yet, in conformity with his wishes, he was to act in concert with that officer, and be in some sort under his orders. He strenuously recommended an expedition against Fort Duquesne, believing it might be effected with a certainty of success, since the French must necessarily leave that garrison in a weak condition, in order to concentrate their force at the north to meet the formidable preparations making against them in that quarter. The wisdom of this ad-

vice was afterwards manifest to all; and, had it been seasonably heeded, it would have saved the expense of another campaign, besides preventing the ravages and murders committed in the mean time on the border settlers. In these views, if not in others, he had the hearty concurrence of Governor Dinwiddie.

From the conference at Philadelphia he returned to his usual station at Winchester. The remainder of the season was passed in a routine of duties so nearly resembling those of the two preceding years, as to afford little novelty or interest for a separate recital. Emboldened by successes, the Indians continued their hostilities, attacking the outposts, and killing the defenceless inhabitants. In short, the service had nothing in it to reward generous sacrifices, or gratify a noble ambition. As a school of experience it ultimately proved advantageous to him. It was his good fortune, likewise, to gain honor and reputation even in so barren a field, by retaining the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and fulfilling the expectations of his friends in the legislature, who had pressed upon him the command, and urged his holding it.

But the fatigue of body and mind, which he suffered from the severity of his labors, gradually undermined his strength, and his physician insisted on his retiring from the army. He went to Mount Vernon, where his disease settled into a fever, and reduced him so low, that he was confined four months, till the 1st of March, 1758, before he was able to resume his command.

CHAPTER V.

Governor Dinwiddie sails for England. — An Expedition against Fort Duquesne planned by the British Ministry, to be under the Command of General Forbes. — The Virginia Army augmented, and united with the Regular Troops in this Enterprise. — Colonel Washington marches to Fort Cumberland. — Acts in Concert with Colonel Bouquet. — Joins the main Army at Raystown under General Forbes. — Forms a Plan of March suited to the Mountains and Woods. — Commands the advanced Division of the Army. — Capture of Fort Duquesne. — He returns to Virginia, resigns his Commission, and retires to private Life.

Governor Dinwiddie sailed for England in the month of January. His departure was not regretted. However amiable in his social relations, however zealous in the discharge of his public trusts, he failed to win the hearts, or command the respect, of the people. Least of all was he qualified to transact military affairs. His whole course of conduct was marked with a confusion, uncertainty, and waywardness, which caused infinite perplexity to the commander of the Virginia troops. Every one regarded the change as salutary to the interests of the colony. His place was filled for a short time by John Blair, President of the Council, till the arrival of Francis Fauquier, the next governor. The Earl of Loudoun had been commissioned as successor to Governor Dinwiddie, but his military occupations at the north prevented his entering upon the duties of the office.

A brighter prospect now opened to Colonel Washington. As soon as his health was restored, he went back to the army; and from that time met with a hearty coöperation in all his measures. He was happy to find, also, that his early and constant wishes were at last to be realized by a combined expedition to the

Ohio. New energy had been recently infused in the British councils by the accession of Mr. Pitt to the ministry. That statesman, always guided by an enlarged policy, always friendly to the colonies, and understanding their condition and importance much better than his predecessors, resolved on a vigorous prosecution of the war in America. One of his first acts was a plan for the campaign of 1758, in which offensive operations were to be pursued throughout the frontiers. General Forbes was appointed to take command of an expedition against Fort Duquesne. To prepare the way, Mr. Pitt, knowing the temper of the people, and profiting by the mistakes heretofore committed, wrote a circular letter to the colonies most nearly concerned, and requested their united aid on such terms, as were acceded to with alacrity, and carried into effect with promptitude and spirit. He proposed that all the colonial troops should be supplied with arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions, at the King's charge; leaving to the colonies no other expense, than that of levying, clothing, and paying the men. It was moreover stipulated, that the provincial officers, when joined with the King's troops, should hold rank according to their commissions. Had this wise and equitable policy been put in practice three years before, it would have given a very different aspect to the war in America, by diminishing the heavy burdens of the people, promoting harmony and good feeling, producing contentment among the troops, and drawing out the resources and strength of the country in a more effectual manner.

The Virginia Assembly met, and immediately complied with the requisitions of the minister, augmenting their army to two thousand men, offering a bounty for enlistments, and placing the whole under the general direction of the commander of his Majesty's forces,

for the express purpose of marching against Fort Duquesne. They were divided into two regiments. The first was under Colonel Washington, who was likewise commander-in-chief of all the Virginia troops as before. At the head of the second regiment was Colonel Byrd. As General Forbes was detained at Philadelphia several weeks, Colonel Bouquet was stationed in the central parts of Pennsylvania with the advanced division of regular troops, to which the provincials joined themselves as fast as they were ready. To fix on a uniform plan of action, and make the necessary arrangements, Colonel Washington had an interview at Conococheague with that officer, and with Sir John St. Clair, quartermaster-general of the combined army. He also visited Williamsburg, to advise with the president and Council respecting many essential points; for he was not only obliged to perform his military duties, but to suggest to the civil authorities the proper modes of proceeding in relation to the army, and press upon them continually the execution of the laws, and the fulfilment of the pledges contained in the recent acts of the Assembly. The arrival of Governor Fauquier had a favorable influence; as he warmly espoused the interests of the colony, and showed a friendly regard for the commander of its troops, as well as a just deference to his opinions.

For some time Colonel Washington was actively employed at Winchester in collecting and training the newly enlisted men, calling in the parties from the small forts and supplying their places with drafted militia, engaging wagons and horses, and putting all things in readiness to march. There was much delay, and the soldiers began to be disorderly from inaction, and the inhabitants of the vicinity to murmur at the pressure laid upon them for provisions and other sup-

plies. A party of Cherokee Indians, who had been tempted to join the expedition, with the prospect of rich presents from the King's stores, came forward so early, that they grew weary, discontented, and troublesome, and finally most of them went off in a fit of ill humor.

It was a day of joy to him, therefore, when he received orders to march the Virginia regiments from Winchester to Fort Cumberland. This was effected by detachments, which at the same time covered the convoys of wagons and pack-horses. The whole arrived at Fort Cumberland early in July, except a small guard left at Fort Loudoun to protect and prosecute the works at that place. Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen had proceeded by another route through a part of Pennsylvania, with six companies of the first regiment, and joined Colonel Bouquet at Raystown, thirty miles from Fort Cumberland, and the head-quarters of the combined army. Both regiments, including officers and privates, amounted to about eighteen hundred men. The illness of General Forbes detained him long on the way from Philadelphia. During this time Colonel Washington continued at Fort Cumberland, and his troops were employed, some as scouting parties, and others in opening a new road to Raystown and repairing the old one towards the Great Meadows.

He resorted to an expedient, which proved highly beneficial to the service. "My men are bare of regimental clothing," said he in a letter to Colonel Bouquet, "and I have no prospect of a supply. So far from regretting this want during the present campaign, if I were left to pursue my own inclinations, I would not only order the men to adopt the Indian dress, but cause the officers to do it also, and be the first to set the example myself. Nothing but the uncertainty of

obtaining the general approbation causes me to hesitate a moment to leave my regimentals at this place, and proceed as light as any Indian in the woods. It is an unbecoming dress, I own; but convenience, rather than show, I think, should be consulted." He equipped in the Indian dress two companies, which had been ordered to advance to the main body; and it was so much approved by Colonel Bouquet, that he encouraged the army to adopt it. "The dress," he replied, "takes very well here. We see nothing but shirts and blankets. It should be our pattern in this expedition." Its lightness and convenience were suited to the heat of summer, and it saved expense and trouble.

He had been but a few days at Fort Cumberland, when he learnt with great surprise, that General Forbes was hesitating as to the route he should pursue in crossing the mountains to Fort Duquesne. The road, over which General Braddock marched, was the only one that had been cut through the wilderness for the passage of wagons and artillery; and as its construction had cost immense toil, it seemed incredible that any other route should be attempted, or even thought of, so late in the season. His sentiments being asked, he expressed them in the most unreserved manner, and with a cogency of argument, that could have been set aside only by a determination on the part of the general, arising from motives foreign to the absolute merits of the case. Colonel Bouquet, who participated in the general's views, desired a consultation with Washington on the subject. "Nothing," said he, "can exceed your generous dispositions for the service. I see, with the utmost satisfaction, that you are above the influences of prejudice, and ready to go heartily where reason and judgment shall

direct. I wish sincerely that we may all entertain one and the same opinion; therefore I desire to have an interview with you at the houses built half way between our camps." This proposal was acceded to, and the matter was deliberately discussed.

It was represented by Colonel Washington, that a great deal of pains had been taken formerly by the Ohio Company, with the aid of traders and Indians, to ascertain the most practicable route to the western country; that the one from Will's Creek was selected as far preferable to any other; that a road had accordingly been made, over which General Braddock's army had passed; and that this road required but slight repairs to put it in good condition. Even if another route could be found, he thought the experiment a hazardous one at so advanced a stage in the season, as it would retard the operations, and, he feared, inevitably defeat the objects of the campaign, and defer the capture of Fort Duquesne to another year. Such a result would dishearten the colonies, which had made extraordinary efforts to raise men and money for the present enterprise, with the full expectation of its success; it would moreover embolden the southern Indians, already disaffected, who would seize the opportunity to commit new hostilities, thereby distressing the inhabitants, strengthening the enemy, and adding to the difficulty of a future conquest. But, admitting it possible, that a new road could be made from Raystown through Pennsylvania, yet no advantage could be derived from it, that did not actually exist in an equal or greater degree in Braddock's Road. Forage for the horses was abundant in the meadows bordering the latter; the streams were fordable, and the defiles easy to be passed.

These reasons, so obvious and forcible, did not change

the purpose of the general, who, it was believed, had been influenced by the Pennsylvanians to construct a new road, which would be a lasting benefit to that province, by opening a more direct channel of intercourse with the West. Colonel Bouquet, of course, adhered to the views of his general.

There was another project, which Colonel Washington disapproved, and which his advice prevailed to counteract. The general proposed to march the army in two divisions, one by Braddock's Road, the other directly from Raystown, making the road as it advanced. To this scheme he strenuously objected. Dividing the army would weaken it, and the routes were so far apart, without any means of communication between the two, that one division could not succour the other in case of an attack; and it was certain the enemy would take advantage of such an oversight. Again, if the division marching first should escort the convoy and be driven back, there would be a perilous risk of losing the stores and artillery, and of bringing total ruin upon the expedition. In short, every mischief, that could befall a divided army, acting against the concentrated force of an enemy, was to be apprehended. The project was laid aside.

His opinion was likewise desired, as to the best mode of advancing by deposits. He made an estimate, on the supposition of marching by Braddock's Road, in which it was shown, that the whole army might be at Fort Duquesne in thirty-four days, and have then on hand a supply of provisions for eighty-seven days. Perceiving Colonel Bouquet's bias in favor of the general's ideas, he could scarcely hope his suggestions would be received. So strong were his fears for the fate of the expedition, that he wrote in moving terms to Major Halket, his former associate

in Braddock's army, and now one of General Forbes's family.

"I am just returned," said he, "from a conference with Colonel Bouquet. I find him fixed, I think I may say unalterably fixed, to lead you a new way to the Ohio, through a road, every inch of which is to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarce time left to tread the beaten track, universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains.

"If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the general, all is lost, — all is lost indeed, — our enterprise will be ruined, and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter; but not to gather *laurels*, except of the kind that covers the mountains. The southern Indians will turn against us, and these colonies will be desolated by such an accession to the enemy's strength. These must be the consequences of a miscarriage; and a miscarriage is the almost necessary consequence of an attempt to march the army by this new route. I have given my reasons at large to Colonel Bouquet. He desired that I would do so, that he might forward them to the general. Should this happen, you will be able to judge of their weight.

"I am uninfluenced by prejudice, having no hopes or fears but for the general good. Of this you may be assured, and that my sincere sentiments are spoken on this occasion."

These representations were vain. Colonel Bouquet was ordered to send forward parties to work upon the new road. Six weeks had been expended in this arduous labor, when General Forbes reached the camp at Raystown, about the middle of September. Forty-five miles only had been gained by the advanced party, then constructing a fort at Loyal Hanna, the main army still being at Raystown, and the larger part of

the Virginia troops at Fort Cumberland. At that moment the whole army might have been before the walls of Fort Duquesne, if they had marched as advised by Washington. An easy victory would have ensued; for it was ascertained, that the French at that time, including Indians, numbered not more than eight hundred men. Under General Forbes, six thousand were in the field.

In reporting these facts to the Speaker of the Virginia Assembly, Colonel Washington said; "See, therefore, how our time has been misspent. Behold how the golden opportunity has been lost, perhaps never more to be regained! How is it to be accounted for? Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible. Will, then, our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full representation of the matter go to his Majesty. Let him know how grossly his glory and interest, and the public money, are prostituted." About this time occurred the ill-concerted and unfortunate adventure under Major Grant, who was suffered to push forward to the very doors of the enemy a light detachment, which was attacked, cut up, and routed, and he and his principal officers were taken prisoners.

These proceedings, and the counsels by which General Forbes seemed to be guided, were so unsatisfactory to the Virginia House of Burgesses, and gave so discouraging a presage of the future, that they resolved to recall their troops, and place them on their own frontier. But when it was known, from subsequent intelligence, that the expedition was in progress, and foreseen that its failure might be ascribed to the withdrawing of the Virginia regiments, and perhaps be actually caused by such a measure, they revoked their resolves, and extended the term of service to the end of the year.

General Forbes had no sooner taken the command in person at Raystown, than he called to head-quarters Colonel Washington, who was followed by those companies of his regiments, which had been posted at Fort Cumberland. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition he had manifested to the plans of operation, as an act of duty, while they were in suspense, he suppressed his feelings and subdued his reluctance, from the same motive, the moment they were decided upon, and he then engaged heartily in promoting their execution. If he was mortified at the little attention hitherto paid to his advice, he was compensated by the deference now shown to his opinions and judgment. He attended the councils of war, and was consulted upon every important measure by the general, at whose request he drew up a line of march and order of battle, by which the army could advance with facility and safety through the woods. The fate of Braddock, and its causes, were too deeply impressed on General Forbes's mind to be forgotten or disregarded. Unaccustomed to this mode of warfare, more wise and less confident than his predecessor, he was glad to seek the aid of one, whose knowledge and experience would be available, where valor might waste its efforts in vain, and discipline and strength be ensnared by the artifices of a crafty foe.

Several weeks previously, when the first detachments began to march, Colonel Washington requested to be put in the advance. Alluding to the troops, which were to compose the first party, he wrote to Colonel Bouquet; "I pray your interest, most sincerely, with the general, to get myself and my regiment included in the number. If any argument is needed to obtain this favor, I hope without vanity I may be allowed to say, that, from long intimacy with these woods, and

frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties, as any troops that will be employed." The request was now complied with. He received General Forbes's orders to march with his regiment; and at Loyal Hanna he was placed at the head of a division, or brigade, amounting to one thousand men, who were to move in front of the main army, and to act as pioneers in clearing the road, keeping out scouts and patrolling guards to prevent a surprise, and throwing up entrenchments at proper stations as a security to the deposits of provisions. While in this command, he had the temporary rank of brigadier.

The month of November had set in, before General Forbes, with the artillery and main body of the army, arrived at Loyal Hanna. The road was extremely bad, and difficulties without number interposed at every step to cause delays, discouragement, and suffering. The season of frost had come, and the summits of the hills were whitened with snow. It was no wonder that the spirits of the soldiers should flag, scantily clothed and fed, as they were, and encountering hardships from want, exposure, and incessant labor. More than fifty miles, through pathless and rugged wilds, still intervened between the army and Fort Duquesne. A council of war was held, and it was decided to be unadvisable, if not impracticable, to prosecute the campaign any further till the next season, and that a winter encampment among the mountains, or a retreat to the frontier settlements, was the only alternative that remained. Thus far all the anticipations of Washington had been realized.

A mere accident, however, which happened just at this crisis, turned the scale of fortune, and brought hope out of despair. Three prisoners were taken, who

gave such a report of the weak state of the garrison at Fort Duquesne, that the council reversed their decision, and resolved to hazard an effort, which held out a possibility of success, and in any event could be scarcely more ruinous than the alternative first proposed. Henceforward the march was pursued without tents or heavy baggage, and with only a light train of artillery. The troops, animated by the example of the officers, performed their tasks with renovated ardor and alacrity. Washington resumed his command in front, attending personally to the cutting of the road, establishing deposits of provisions, and preparing the way for the main army.

No material event occurred till the 25th of November, when General Forbes took possession of Fort Duquesne, or rather the place where it had stood. The enemy, reduced in number to about five hundred men, and deserted by the Indians, had abandoned the fort the day before, set fire to it, and gone down the Ohio in boats. Thus ended an expedition, in which more than six thousand men had been employed for five months. Rejoiced that their toils were over, the troops forgot their sufferings; and the people of the middle provinces, who had murmured loudly at the dilatory manner in which the campaign had been carried on, were contented with the issue in this consummation of their wishes. The continued illness of General Forbes had perhaps operated unfavorably. He was esteemed a worthy and brave man, possessing eminent military talents. Worn down with infirmities, which had been increased by the fatigues of the campaign, he died a few weeks afterwards at Philadelphia.

The lateness of the season rendered it impossible, that the French should attempt to recover the ground they had lost before the next year. It was necessary,

however, that a small garrison should be left there, as well to retain possession of the post, as to keep the Indians in check and win their alliance. Two hundred of the Virginia troops were detached for this service, by the express order of the general, but against the remonstrances of their commander, who thought they had performed their full share of duty. General Forbes said he had no authority to leave any of the King's forces for that purpose, and the place was then understood to be within the jurisdiction of Virginia. This latter circumstance was probably the reason, why the task of defence was not assigned to the Pennsylvanians. The French name of the fort was changed to *Fort Pitt*, in honor of the minister by whose counsels the expedition for capturing it had been undertaken.

On his return, Colonel Washington stopped a short time at Loyal Hanna, where he wrote a circular letter to the frontier inhabitants, requesting them to take out provisions to the men at the fort, who would be in great distress if not immediately supplied, and promising a liberal compensation for every thing that should thus be furnished. He then proceeded by way of Mount Vernon to Williamsburg. The remainder of his troops marched to Winchester, where they went into winter-quarters.

For some months it had been his determination, if this campaign should prove successful, to retire from his command at its close. By gaining possession of the Ohio, the great object of the war in the middle colonies was accomplished; and, as he had abandoned the idea of making any further attempts to be united to the British establishment, there was no prospect of rising higher in the military line; so that neither his duty as a citizen, nor his ambition as a soldier, operated any longer to retain him in the service. The

one had been faithfully discharged; the other had yielded to the force of circumstances, and to the visions of the tranquil enjoyments of private life, which now opened upon his mind. After settling all his public accounts, therefore, he resigned his commission the last week in December, having been actively and almost uninterruptedly engaged in the service of his country more than five years.

On this occasion he received from the officers, who had served under him, a testimony of their attachment, which must have been as grateful to his feelings, as it was honorable to his character. They sent him an address, written in camp, expressive of the satisfaction they had derived from his conduct as commander, the sincerity of his friendship, and his affable demeanor; and of the high opinion they entertained of his military talents, patriotism, and private virtues.

"Nor was this opinion confined to the officers of his regiment. It was common in Virginia; and had been adopted by the British officers with whom he served. The duties he performed, though not splendid, were arduous; and were executed with zeal and with judgment. The exact discipline he established in his regiment, when the temper of Virginia was extremely hostile to discipline, does credit to his military character; and the gallantry the troops displayed, whenever called into action, manifests the spirit infused into them by their commander. The difficulties of his situation, while unable to cover the frontier from the French and Indians, who were spreading death and desolation in every quarter, were incalculably great; and no better evidence of his exertions, under these distressing circumstances, can be given, than the undiminished confidence still placed in him by those, whom he was unable to protect. The efforts to which he

incessantly stimulated his country for the purpose of obtaining possession of the Ohio; the system for the conduct of the war, which he continually recommended; the vigorous and active measures always urged upon those by whom he was commanded; manifest an ardent and enterprising mind, tempered by judgment, and quickly improved by experience." *

The events of this war had a more important influence on the life and character of Washington, than might at first be supposed. They proved to him and to the world his mental resources, courage, fortitude, and power over the will and actions of others. They were in fact a school of practical knowledge and discipline, qualifying him for the great work in which he was to be engaged at a future day. The duties of his station at the head of the Virginia troops, and the difficulties he had to contend with during an active warfare of five years, bore a strong resemblance to those, that devolved on him as commander-in-chief of the American armies in the revolution. They differed in magnitude, and in the ends to be attained; but it will be seen, as we proceed, that they were analogous in many striking particulars, and that the former were an essential preparation for the latter.

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, 2d. ed., Vol. I. p. 27.

Engraved by J. Cheney & J. G. Kellogg

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE BY WOOLASTON IN THE
POSSESSION OF G.W.P. CUSTIS, ESQ^R ARLINGTON HOUSE.

CHAPTER VI.

Washington's Marriage. — For many Years a Member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. — His Pursuits and Habits as a Planter. — A Vestryman in the Church, and active in Parish Affairs. — His Opinion of the Stamp Act. — Takes an early and decided Stand against the Course pursued by the British Government towards the Colonies. — Joins heartily in all the Measures of Opposition. — His Services in procuring the Lands promised to the Officers and Soldiers in the French War. — Performs a Tour to the Ohio and Kenhawa Rivers for the Purpose of selecting those Lands. — Takes an active Part at different Times in the Proceedings of the Virginia Legislature in defending the Rights of the Colonies. — His Opinions on this Subject. — Chosen to command several Independent Companies of Militia. — A Delegate to the first and second Virginia Conventions. — A Member of the Continental Congress.

In the course of the preceding year, Colonel Washington had paid his addresses successfully to Mrs. Martha Custis, to whom he was married on the 6th of January, 1759. This lady was three months younger than himself, widow of John Parke Custis, and distinguished alike for her beauty, accomplishments, and wealth. She was the daughter of John Dandridge. At the time of her second marriage she had two children, a son and daughter, the former six years old, the latter four. Mr. Custis had left large landed estates in New Kent County, and forty-five thousand pounds sterling in money. One third part of this property she held in her own right, the other two thirds being equally divided between her children.

By this marriage, an accession of more than one hundred thousand dollars was made to Colonel Washington's fortune, which was already considerable in the estate at Mount Vernon, and other lands which he had selected during his surveying expeditions and

obtained at different times. To the management of his extensive private affairs his thoughts were now turned. He also took upon himself the guardianship of Mrs. Washington's two children, and the care of their property, which trust he discharged with all the faithfulness and assiduity of a father, till the son became of age, and till the daughter died in her nineteenth year. This union was in every respect felicitous. It continued forty years. To her intimate acquaintances and to the nation, the character of Mrs. Washington was ever a theme of praise. Affable and courteous, exemplary in her deportment, remarkable for her deeds of charity and piety, unostentatious and without vanity, she adorned by her domestic virtues the sphere of private life, and filled with dignity every station in which she was placed.*

While engaged in the last campaign, Colonel Washington had been elected a representative to the House of Burgesses, in Virginia, from Frederic County. Having determined to quit the military line, and being yet inclined to serve his country in a civil capacity, this choice of the people was peculiarly gratifying to him. As this was the first time he had been proposed for the popular suffrages, his friends urged him to leave the army for a few days, and repair to Winchester, where the election was to be held. But, regarding his duties in the field as outweighing every other consideration, he remained at his post, and the election was carried without his personal solicitation or influence. There were four candidates, and he was chosen by a large majority over all his competitors. The success was beyond his most sanguine anticipations.

One of his friends wrote to him immediately after

* A Memoir of this lady, written by her grandson, G. W. P. Custis, is contained in the first volume of the *American Portrait Gallery.*

the polls were closed; "The punctual discharge of every trust, your humane and equitable treatment of each individual, and your ardent zeal for the common cause, have gained your point with credit; as your friends could, with the greatest warmth and truth, urge the worth of those noble endowments and principles, as well as your superior interest both here and in the House." Considering the command, which he had been obliged to exercise in Frederic County for near five years, and the restraints, which the exigency of circumstances required him occasionally to put upon the inhabitants, this result was deemed a triumphant proof of his abilities, address, and power to win the affections and confidence of the people.

He did not establish himself at Mount Vernon, till three months after his marriage, but continued at Williamsburg, or in the vicinity of that place, probably arranging the affairs of Mrs. Washington's estate. At the same time there was a session of the House of Burgesses, which he attended. It was during this session, that an incident occurred, which has been graphically described by Mr. Wirt. "By a vote of the House, the Speaker, Mr. Robinson, was directed to return their thanks to Colonel Washington, on behalf of the colony, for the distinguished military services which he had rendered to his country. As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity, but with such warmth of coloring and strength of expression, as entirely confounded the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor; but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trem-

bled for a second; when the Speaker relieved him by a stroke of address, that would have done honor to Louis the Fourteenth in his proudest and happiest moment. 'Sit down, Mr. Washington,' said he with a conciliating smile; 'your modesty equals your valor; and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.'" *

From this time till the beginning of the revolution, a period of fifteen years, Washington was constantly a member of the House of Burgesses, being returned by a large majority of votes at every election. For seven years he represented, jointly with another delegate, the County of Frederic, and afterwards the County of Fairfax, in which he resided. There were commonly two sessions in a year, and sometimes three. It appears, from a record left in his handwriting, that he gave his attendance punctually, and from the beginning to the end of almost every session. It was a maxim with him through life, to execute punctually and thoroughly every charge which he undertook.

His influence in public bodies was produced more by the soundness of his judgment, his quick perceptions, and his directness and undeviating sincerity, than by eloquence or art in recommending his opinions. He seldom spoke, never harangued, and it is not known that he ever made a set speech, or entered into a stormy debate. But his attention was at all times awake. He studied profoundly the prominent topics of discussion, and, whenever occasion required, was prepared to deliver his sentiments clearly, and to act with decision and firmness. His practice may be inferred from the counsel he gave to a nephew, who had just taken his seat for the first time in the Assembly.

* Life of Patrick Henry, 3d edition, p. 45.

"The only advice I will offer," said he, "if you have a mind to command the attention of the House, is to speak seldom but on important subjects, except such as particularly relate to your constituents; and, in the former case, make yourself perfectly master of the subject. Never exceed a decent warmth, and submit your sentiments with diffidence. A dictatorial style, though it may carry conviction, is always accompanied with disgust."

After suitable preparations had been made, he retired with Mrs. Washington to the charming retreat at Mount Vernon, resolved to devote his remaining years to the pursuit of agriculture, with no higher aims than to increase his fortune, cultivate the social virtues, fulfil his duties as a citizen, and sustain in its elevated dignity and worth the character of a country gentleman. For this sphere he was extremely well fitted, both by his tastes and his habits of business. In all the scenes of his public career, even when his renown was the highest, and he was the most actively engaged in great affairs, there was no subject upon which his mind dwelt with so lively an interest and pleasure as that of agriculture. Nor was there ever a moment, when his thoughts would not recur to his tranquil home at Mount Vernon, as the seat of his purest happiness, or when he would not have returned to it with unfeigned delight.

The occupation of a Virginia planter before the Revolution afforded little variety of incidents. Few modes of existence could be more monotonous. The staple product, particularly in the lower counties, was tobacco, to the culture of which Washington chiefly directed his care. This he exported to London for a market, making the shipments in his own name, and putting the tobacco on board vessels, which came up the

Potomac River to his mansion at Mount Vernon, or to such other points as were most convenient. He had also correspondents in Bristol and Liverpool, to whom he sometimes consigned tobacco.

In those days, it was the practice of the Virginia planters to import directly from London all the articles of common use. Twice a year Washington forwarded lists of such articles to his agent, comprising not only the necessaries and conveniences for household purposes, ploughs, hoes, spades, scythes, and other implements of agriculture, saddles, bridles, and harness for his horses, but likewise every article of wearing apparel for himself and the different members of his family, specifying the names of each, and the ages of Mrs. Washington's two children, as well as the size, description, and quality of the several articles.* He required his agent to send him, in addition to a general bill of the whole, the original vouchers of the shopkeepers and mechanics, from whom purchases had been made. So particular was he in these concerns, that for many years he recorded with his own hand, in books prepared for the purpose, all the long lists of orders, and copies of the multifarious receipts from the different merchants and tradesmen, who had supplied the goods. In this way he kept a perfect oversight of the business, ascertained the prices, could detect any imposition, mismanagement, or carelessness, and tell when any advantage was taken of him even in the smallest matter, of which, when discovered, he did not fail to remind his correspondents

* From an order, which he sent to a tailor in London, we learn the size of his person. He describes himself as "six feet high and proportionably made; if any thing rather slender for a person of that height;" and adds that his limbs were long. At this time he was thirty-one years old. In exact measure, his height was six feet, three inches.

the next time he wrote. During the whole of this period, in short, his industry was equal to his enterprise in business. His day-books, legers, and letter-books were all kept by himself; nor does it appear, that he was in the habit, on any occasion, of resorting to the aid of a clerk or secretary. He usually drew up his contracts, deeds, and other papers, requiring legal knowledge and accuracy. It was a rule with him, in private as well as public transactions, not to rely on others for what he could do himself.

Although his pursuits were those of a retired farmer, yet he was by no means secluded from social intercourse with persons of intelligence and refinement. During the periods of his attending the House of Burgesses at Williamsburg, he met on terms of intimacy the eminent men of Virginia, who, in imitation of the governors (sometimes noblemen, and always from the higher ranks of English society), lived in a style of magnificence, which has long since passed away, and given place to the republican simplicity of modern times. He was a frequent visiter at Annapolis, the seat of government in Maryland, renowned as the resort of the polite, wealthy, and fashionable. At Mount Vernon he returned the civilities he had received, and practised, on a large and generous scale, the hospitality for which the southern planters have ever been distinguished. When he was at home, a day seldom passed without the company of friends or strangers at his house. In his diaries the names of these visiters are often mentioned, and we find among them the governors of Virginia and Maryland, and nearly all the celebrated men of the southern and middle colonies, who were afterwards conspicuous in the history of the country.

One of his nearest neighbours was George Mason,

of Gunston Hall, a man possessing remarkable intellectual powers, deeply conversant with political science, and thoroughly versed in the topics of dispute then existing between England and America. Lord Fairfax was also a constant guest at Mount Vernon, who, although eccentric in his habits, possessed a cultivated mind, social qualities, and a perfect knowledge of the world. To these may be added a large circle of relatives and acquaintances, who sought his society, and to whom his house was always open.

Washington had a relish for amusements. In his earlier years, as we have seen, he was fond of athletic sports, and the feats of agility and strength. When he was at Williamsburg or Annapolis, he commonly attended the theatrical exhibitions, such as were presented on the American boards at that day. But his chief diversion was the chase. At the proper season, it was not unusual for him to go out two or three times in a week with horses, dogs, and horns, in pursuit of foxes, accompanied by a small party of gentlemen, either his neighbours, or such visiters as happened to be at Mount Vernon. If we may judge by his own account, however, he could seldom boast of brilliant success in these excursions. He was not disheartened by disappointment, and when the foxes eluded his pursuit, he consoled himself with the reflection, that the main end in view, excitement and recreation, had been gained.

Another favorite exercise was fowling. His youthful rambles in the woods, on his surveying expeditions, had made him familiar with the use of his gun. Game of various kinds abounded on his plantations, particularly the species of wild duck, which at certain seasons resorts in great numbers to the waters of the Chesapeake, and is so much esteemed for its superior qual-

ity. He was expert in the art of duck-shooting, and often practised it.

Connected with this subject, an anecdote is related of him, illustrative of his resolution and courage. A person of lawless habits and reckless character had frequently entered upon the grounds near Mount Vernon, and shot ducks and other game. More than once he had been warned to desist, and not to return. It was his custom to cross the Potomac in a canoe, and ascend the creeks to some obscure place, where he could be concealed from observation. One day, hearing the discharge of a musket, Washington mounted his horse, and rode in the direction of the sound. The intruder discovered his approach, and had just time to gain the canoe and push it from the shore, when Washington emerged from the bushes at the distance of a few yards. The man raised his gun, cocked it, pointed it at him, and took deliberate aim; but, without a moment's hesitation, he rode into the water, seized the prow of the canoe, drew it to land, disarmed his antagonist, and inflicted on him a chastisement, which he never again chose to run the hazard of encountering.

But neither his private occupations, nor his important duties as one of the legislators of the province, prevented Washington from taking an active part in many concerns of less moment, wherein he could be useful to his friends or the community. He assumed trusts at the solicitation of others, which sometimes involved much labor and responsibility, and in which he had no personal interest; and cheerfully rendered his services as an arbitrator in settling disputes. Such was the confidence in his candor and judgment, and such his known desire to promote peace and concord, that he was often called upon to perform offices of

this kind; and it was rare that his decision was unsatisfactory; for, however the parties might differ in opinion, they were persuaded that their cause could not be submitted to a more impartial or competent judge.

His usefulness extended to every object within the sphere of his influence. In the affairs of Truro Parish, to which Mount Vernon belonged, he took a lively concern and exercised a salutary control. He was a vestryman of that parish. On one occasion he gained a triumph of some moment, which Mr. Massey, the clergyman, who lived to an advanced age, used to mention as an instance of his address. The old church was falling to ruin, and it was resolved that another should be built. Several meetings were held, and a warm dispute arose respecting its location, the old one being remote from the centre, and inconveniently situated for many of the parishioners. A meeting for settling the question was finally held. George Mason, who led the party that adhered to the ancient site, made an eloquent harangue, in which he appealed with great effect to the sensibilities of the people, conjuring them not to desert the spot consecrated by the bones of their ancestors and the most hallowed associations. Mr. Massey said every one present seemed moved by this discourse, and, for the moment, he thought there would not be a dissenting voice. Washington then rose, and drew from his pocket a roll of paper, containing an exact survey of Truro Parish, on which was marked the site of the old church, the proposed site of the new one, and the place where each parishioner resided. He spread this map before the audience, explained it in a few words, and then added, that it was for them to determine, whether they would be carried away by an impulse of feeling, or act upon

the obvious principles of reason and justice. The argument, thus confirmed by ocular demonstration, was conclusive, and the church was erected on the new site.

At the close of the French war, he had an arduous service to perform, as one of the commissioners for settling the military accounts of the colony, which were complicated, and of large extent. His intimate knowledge of the subject, and the sympathy he felt for his companions in arms, and all who had aided the cause of their country, were motives for throwing this task chiefly upon him, and he executed it faithfully.

British writers have asserted, and perhaps believed, that Washington's sentiments did not harmonize with those of the leaders, who resisted the aggressions of the mother country at the beginning of the great struggle for independence, and that he was brought tardily into the measures of opposition. This opinion probably arose from the circumstance of his name not being mentioned among the conspicuous actors, and was strengthened by the spurious letters ascribed to him in the first part of the war, of which more will be said hereafter. These letters were first published in England, and so artfully written, that they might easily mislead those, who were willing to be deceived on the side of their prejudices and wishes. It is nevertheless true, that no man in America took a more early, open, and decided part in asserting and defending the rights of the colonies, and opposing the pretensions set up by the British government. In the Virginia legislature he went heart and hand with Henry, Randolph, Lee, Wythe, and the other prominent leaders of the time. His opinions and his principles were consistent throughout. That he looked for a conciliation, till the convening of the first Congress, and

perhaps till the petition of that Congress had been rejected by the King, there is no doubt; and so did Franklin, Jay, Jefferson, John Adams, and probably all the other master-spirits, who gave the tone to public sentiment and action.

His disapprobation of the Stamp Act was expressed in unqualified terms. He spoke of it, in a letter written at the time, as an "unconstitutional method of taxation," and "a direful attack on the liberties of the colonists." And subsequently he said, "The repeal of the Stamp Act, to whatever cause owing, ought much to be rejoiced at; for, had the Parliament of Great Britain resolved upon enforcing it, the consequences, I conceive, would have been more direful than is generally apprehended, both to the mother country and her colonies. All, therefore, who were instrumental in procuring the repeal, are entitled to the thanks of every British subject, and have mine cordially." He was present in the Virginia legislature, when Patrick Henry offered his celebrated resolutions on this subject. I have found no record of his vote; but it may be presumed, from his well known sentiments, and from his frankness in avowing them, that he stood in the ranks of the patriotic party, to which he ever afterwards rendered his most zealous support.

Although the Stamp Act was repealed, yet the abettors of that act, so odious to the colonies, were not influenced in yielding the point by any regard to the absolute merits of the question, but by motives of expediency for the moment, being resolved to seize the first opportunity to renew the measure, and prosecute their scheme for raising a revenue in America by taxing the people without their consent. They asserted the unlimited control of Parliament over every part of the British dominions; and the doctrine, hitherto consid-

ered as one of the vital elements of the British constitution, and the main pillar of British freedom, that no subject of the realm could be taxed except by himself or his representatives, was virtually declared inapplicable to the colonies. It was no wonder that a people, habituated to self-government and nurtured in the atmosphere of liberty from the very origin of their political existence, should revolt at such an assumption, and be roused to a defence of their rights.

The act of Parliament imposing duties on tea, paper, glass, and painters' colors, imported into the colonies, was in reality a repetition of the Stamp Act in another form. It was thus understood by the people, and produced universal indignation and alarm. Spirited resolves were immediately adopted in Massachusetts and other colonies, expressing a determination not to submit to this act. Articles of agreement were at the same time entered into, called *Associations*, by which those who subscribed them were bound not to purchase or use the manufactures of England, and other goods imported from that country, except in cases of the most urgent necessity. It was thought this measure, if effectually pursued, would cramp the British commerce, and distress the manufacturers and merchants to such an extent, as to open the eyes of the government to the impolicy, if not to the iniquity, of the course they had begun.

The spirit of discontent and opposition diffused itself rapidly in all the provinces. In the month of April, 1769, just before the assembling of the Virginia legislature, Colonel Washington received sundry papers, containing the resolves and proceedings of the merchants of Philadelphia. These papers he communicated to his neighbour and friend, George Mason, accompanied by a letter, in which he declared his own opinions in

a tone of energy and decision, that could leave no room to doubt, as to his sense of the matter, and the ground he was prepared to take.

"At a time," said he, "when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty, which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question.

"That no man should scruple, or hesitate a moment, to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion. Yet arms, I would beg leave to add, should be the last resource, the *dernier resort.* We have already, it is said, proved the inefficacy of addresses to the throne, and remonstrances to Parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened or alarmed, by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried.

"The northern colonies, it appears, are endeavouring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be carried pretty generally into execution."

These sentiments were cordially reciprocated by Mr. Mason, who agreed that steps ought immediately to be taken to bring about a concert of action between Virginia and the northern colonies. This gentleman, who afterwards drafted the first constitution of Virginia, and was a skilful writer, drew up a series of articles in the form of an Association. The Burgesses met in May, and, as Mr. Mason was not then one of their number, Washington took charge of the paper, with the view of laying it before the Assembly. As soon as the Burgesses had come together, and gone through with the forms of opening the session, they proceeded

to consider the late doings of Parliament, and passed several bold and pointed resolves, denying the authority of Parliament to impose taxes and enact laws hostile to the ancient liberties of the colonists. The governor, Lord Botetourt, deservedly popular for his amiable manners and the real interest he felt in the welfare of the people, and at heart opposed to the ministerial pretensions, could not, in justice to his sovereign and the trust reposed in him, silently witness these symptoms of disaffection and disobedience. He went the next day to the Capitol, summoned the Burgesses to meet him in the council-chamber, and there dissolved the Assembly. Not intimidated by this exercise of the prerogative, although a virtual reprimand, they forthwith repaired in a body to a private house, and unanimously adopted the non-importation agreement, which had been prepared by George Mason, and presented by Washington. Every member subscribed his name to it, and it was then printed and dispersed in the country for the signatures of the people.

Washington was scrupulous in observing this agreement; and, when he sent his customary annual orders to London for goods to be used in his family, he strictly enjoined his correspondents to forward none of the enumerated articles, unless the offensive acts of Parliament should in the mean time be repealed.

In the midst of his public engagements, another affair, extremely vexatious in its details, employed much of his attention. The claims of the officers and soldiers to lands, granted by Governor Dinwiddie as a reward for their services at the beginning of the French war, met with innumerable obstacles for a long time, first from the ministry in England, and next from the authorities in Virginia. By his unwearied exertions, however, and by these alone, and mostly at his own

expense, the matter was at last adjusted. Nor did he remit his efforts till every officer and private soldier had received his due proportion. Where deaths had occurred, the heirs were sought out, and their claims verified and allowed. Even Vanbraam, who was believed to have deceived him at the capitulation of the Great Meadows, and who went as a hostage to Canada, thence to England, and never returned to America, was not forgotten in the distribution. His share was reserved, and he was informed that it was at his disposal.

While this business was in progress, Washington resolved to visit the western lands in person, and select for the surveys such tracts as would have an intrinsic value, both in regard to their location and quality. This was the more important, as it was necessary to take the land in large tracts, and then divide it according to a prescribed ratio.

In the autumn of 1770, accompanied by his friend, Dr. Craik, who had been his companion in arms at the battles of the Great Meadows and of the Monongahela, he performed a tour of nine weeks for this purpose. Proceeding to Pittsburg on horseback, he there embarked in a canoe, and descended the Ohio River to the Great Kenhawa, a distance of two hundred and sixty-five miles.

At that time there were no inhabitants on the Ohio below Pittsburg, except the natives of the forest. A few traders had wandered into those regions, and land speculators had sent out emissaries to explore the country, but no permanent settlements had been formed. He was attended down the river by William Crawford, a person accustomed to the woods, and a part of the way by Colonel Croghan, distinguished for his knowledge of Indian affairs. The voyage was

fatiguing and somewhat hazardous, as they were exposed without shelter to the inclemencies of the weather, and no one of the party was experienced in the navigation of the stream. At night they landed and encamped. Occasionally they walked through the woods, leaving the canoe in charge of the oarsmen. They were thus enabled to inspect the lands, and form a judgment of the soil. Washington was also gratified to meet several of his former Indian friends, who, hearing of his journey, came to see him at different places. Among others, he recognised a chief, who had gone with him to the fort on French Creek, sixteen years before. They all greeted him with much ceremonious respect, making speeches according to their manner, welcoming him to their country, exhibiting their usual tokens of friendship and hospitality, and expressing a desire to maintain a pacific intercourse with their white neighbours of Virginia.

After arriving at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, he ascended that river about fourteen miles, and examined the lands in the vicinity. He had an opportunity, likewise, to practise his favorite amusement of hunting. Buffaloes, deer, turkeys, ducks, and other wild game, were found in great abundance. Pleased with the situation, aspect, and resources of the country, he selected various tracts of land, which were ultimately surveyed and appropriated to fulfil the pledges to the army. Having accomplished his object, he returned up the Ohio, and thence to Mount Vernon.

Some months afterwards he assented to a proposal from Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, to join him in an excursion to the western country, and the preparations were partly made; but family afflictions occurring at the time, in the death of Mrs. Washington's

only daughter, prevented him from executing the design.

The crisis was now approaching, which was to call Washington from his retreat, and to engage him in the widest sphere of public action. The complaints, remonstrances, and lofty spirit of the colonists had wrought no other impression on the British ministry, than to confirm them in their delusions, and stimulate them to new acts of encroachment and severity, mistaking the calls of justice for the clamor of factious discontent, and eager to complete by the arm of power the work, which they had begun with rashness and pursued with obstinacy. Although apparently shrouded in the shades of Mount Vernon, Washington was a close observer of every movement, and perfectly master of the history and principles of the controversy. Associating, as he did, with the eminent men of his day, and exercising without intermission the civil functions of a legislator, every topic had been brought under his notice and minutely examined. We have seen the part he had already acted; and, such were his caution, the rectitude of his motives, his power of discrimination, and his unerring judgment, that he was never known to desert a cause he had once embraced, or change an opinion, which, from a full knowledge of facts, he had deliberately formed.

The dissolution of the Assembly by Lord Botetourt had no other effect, than to elicit a signal proof of the sentiments of the people, and their acquiescence in the acts of their representatives. At the new election every member was returned, who had sat in the former Assembly. In the mean time, Lord Botetourt died, and the Earl of Dunmore succeeded him as governor of Virginia. The temper shown by the Burgesses, at their first meeting after he took possession of the

government, was not such as to make him desirous of their aid, as long as he could dispense with it, and he prorogued them by proclamations from time to time till the 4th of March, 1773. This Assembly is memorable for having brought forward the resolves, instituting a committee of correspondence, and recommending the same to the legislatures of the other colonies, thereby establishing channels of intelligence and a bond of union, which proved of the utmost importance to the general cause. Washington was present, and gave his hearty support to these resolves.

The next session, which took place in May, 1774, was productive of still more decisive measures. Soon after the members had come together, news reached Williamsburg of the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, and inflicting other disabilities on the inhabitants of that town, which was to take effect on the 1st of June. The sympathy and patriotic feelings of the Burgesses were strongly excited; and they forthwith passed an order, deprecating this ministerial procedure, as a hostile invasion, and setting apart the 1st of June to be observed "as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity, which threatened destruction to their civil rights and the evils of civil war, and to give them one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." The governor was alarmed at these symptoms, and dissolved the house the next morning.

Not to be diverted from their purpose, however, the delegates repaired immediately to the Raleigh Tavern, eighty-nine in number, organized themselves into a committee, and drew up and signed an Association, in which, after expressing in strong language their dissatisfaction with the late doings of the British Parlia-

ment, and their opinion that the vital interests of all the colonies were equally concerned, they advised the Committee of Correspondence to communicate with the Committees of the other colonies, on the expediency of appointing deputies to meet in a general congress. Although the idea of a congress was in the minds of many persons throughout the continent, and had been proposed in town meetings at Boston and New York, yet this was the first public assembly by which it was formally recommended. As the governor had dissolved the legislature, and no other business seemed necessary to be done, many of the delegates returned to their homes. Such as stayed behind, attended the religious services on the day appointed for the fast. Washington writes in his Diary, that he "went to church, and fasted all day."

While they were waiting to perform this duty, letters were received from Boston, giving an account of a town meeting in that place, and a resolution to call on the inhabitants of the colonies generally to enter into an agreement, that they would hold no further commercial intercourse with Great Britain, either by imports or exports. Twenty-five of the late delegates were still in Williamsburg, among whom was Washington; and, on the 29th of May, they met to consider the subject. On one essential point they differed in opinion; and, as their number was small, they thought it not proper to determine upon any public act, which should go abroad as the presumed sense of the colony. They did no more, therefore, than state the matter clearly in a circular letter, and recommend a meeting of deputies at Williamsburg on the 1st of August, for the purpose of a more full and deliberate discussion. The circular was printed, and distributed in the several counties.

The members, who dissented from the proposition in its comprehensive form, were not satisfied as to the prohibition of exports. All agreed, that the non-importation compact should be strictly adhered to, and even enlarged, so as to include every article not absolutely necessary for common use, and which could be obtained only from Great Britain. Exports stood on a different footing. Large debts were due to merchants in England, which could be paid in no other way than by exporting produce from the colonies. To withhold this produce was in effect a refusal to pay a just debt. Washington was strenuous on this head, and insisted, that, whatever might be done prospectively, honor and justice required a faithful discharge of all obligations previously contracted. The reply was, that the colonists, after all, were the greatest sufferers, that the English merchants could not expect an exemption from the calamities brought upon the nation by the weakness or wickedness of their rulers, and that the debts would in the end be paid. He was not convinced by this reasoning. At any rate, he was not willing to make it the basis of action, till other less objectionable methods should be found unavailing.

In conformity to the advice of the circular letter, meetings were held in the several counties, resolutions were adopted, and delegates appointed to meet in convention at Williamsburg on the 1st of August. In Fairfax County, Washington presided as chairman of the meetings, and was one of a committee to prepare a series of resolves expressive of the sense of the people. The resolves themselves, twenty-four in all, were drafted by George Mason; and they constitute one of the ablest and most luminous expositions of the points at issue between Great Britain and the colonies, which are to be found among the public

documents of that period. Embracing the great principles and facts, clothed in a nervous and appropriate style, they are equally marked with dignity, firmness, intelligence, and wisdom. They are moreover of special interest as containing the opinions of Washington at a critical time, when he was soon to be raised by his countrymen to a station of the highest trust and responsibility.

One of his friends, Mr. Bryan Fairfax, who attended the first meeting, but who could not accede to all the resolves, explained his objections and difficulties in writing. The following extracts from Washington's letters in reply exhibit his views, and the spirit by which he was animated.

"That I differ very widely from you," said he, "in respect to the mode of obtaining a repeal of the acts so much and so justly complained of, I shall not hesitate to acknowledge; and that this difference in opinion probably proceeds from the different constructions we put upon the conduct and intention of the ministry, may also be true; but, as I see nothing, on the one hand, to induce a belief, that the Parliament would embrace a favorable opportunity of repealing acts, which they go on with great rapidity to pass, in order to enforce their tyrannical system; and, on the other, I observe, or think I observe, that government is pursuing a regular plan at the expense of law and justice to overthrow our constitutional rights and liberties, how can I expect any redress from a measure, which has been ineffectually tried already? For, Sir, what is it we are contending against? Is it against paying the duty of three pence per pound on tea because burthensome? No, it is the right only, that we have all along disputed; and to this end we have already petitioned his Majesty in as humble and dutiful a manner,

as subjects could do. Nay, more, we applied to the House of Lords and House of Commons in their different legislative capacities, setting forth, that, as Englishmen, we could not be deprived of this essential and valuable part of our constitution. If, then, as the fact really is, it is against the right of taxation that we now do, and, as I before said, all along have contended, why should they suppose an exertion of this power would be less obnoxious now than formerly? And what reason have we to believe, that they would make a second attempt, whilst the same sentiments fill the breast of every American, if they did not intend to enforce it if possible?

"In short, what further proofs are wanting to satisfy any one of the designs of the ministry, than their own acts, which are uniform and plainly tending to the same point, nay, if I mistake not, avowedly to fix the right of taxation? What hope have we, then, from petitioning, when they tell us, that now or never is the time to fix the matter? Shall we, after this, whine and cry for relief, when we have already tried it in vain? Or shall we supinely sit and see one province after another fall a sacrifice to despotism?

"If I were in any doubt, as to the right which the Parliament of Great Britain had to tax us without our consent, I should most heartily coincide with you in opinion, that to petition, and petition only, is the proper method to apply for relief; because we should then be asking a favor, and not claiming a right, which, by the law of nature and by our constitution, we are, in my opinion, indubitably entitled to. I should even think it criminal to go further than this, under such an idea; but I have none such. I think the Parliament of Great Britain have no more right to put their hands into my pocket, without my consent, than I have to

put my hands into yours; and, this being already urged to them in a firm, but decent manner, by all the colonies, what reason is there to expect any thing from their justice?

"As to the resolution for addressing the throne, I own to you, Sir, I think the whole might as well have been expunged. I expect nothing from the measure, nor should my voice have sanctioned it, if the non-importation scheme was intended to be retarded by it; for I am convinced, as much as I am of my existence, that there is no relief for us but in their distress; and I think, at least I hope, that there is public virtue enough left among us to deny ourselves every thing but the bare necessaries of life to accomplish this end. This we have a right to do, and no power upon earth can compel us to do otherwise, till it has first reduced us to the most abject state of slavery. The stopping of our exports would, no doubt, be a shorter method than the other to effect this purpose; but, if we owe money to Great Britain, nothing but the last necessity can justify the non-payment of it; and, therefore, I have great doubts upon this head, and wish to see the other method first tried, which is legal and will facilitate these payments.

"Satisfied, then, that the acts of the British Parliament are no longer governed by the principles of justice, that they are trampling upon the valuable rights of Americans, confirmed to them by charter and by the constitution they themselves boast of, and convinced beyond the smallest doubt, that these measures are the result of deliberation, and attempted to be carried into execution by the hand of power, is it a time to trifle, or risk our cause upon petitions, which with difficulty obtain access, and afterwards are thrown by with the utmost contempt? Or should we, because

heretofore unsuspicious of design, and then unwilling to enter into disputes with the mother country, go on to bear more, and forbear to enumerate our just causes of complaint? For my own part, I shall not undertake to say where the line between Great Britain and the colonies should be drawn; but I am clearly of opinion, that one ought to be drawn, and our rights clearly ascertained. I could wish, I own, that the dispute had been left to posterity to determine; but the crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition, that can be heaped upon us, till custom and use shall make us tame and abject slaves."

The Convention met at Williamsburg on the day proposed. Washington was a member from Fairfax County. One of the principal acts of this Convention was to adopt a new Association, more extensive in its prohibitions than the former, and fixing on certain times when all further intercourse with British merchants, both by imports and exports, was to be suspended, unless the offensive acts of Parliament should previously be repealed. In its general features, this Association was nearly the same as the Fairfax County resolves. After sitting six days, appointing Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton delegates to the general Congress, and furnishing them with instructions, the Convention dissolved.

The day appointed throughout the colonies for the meeting of the first Congress, at Philadelphia, was the 5th of September. Two of Washington's associates, Mr. Henry and Mr. Pendleton, stopped on their way at Mount Vernon, whence they all pursued their journey together, and were present at the opening of the

Congress. The proceedings of this assembly need not here be recounted. As the debates were never made public, the part performed by each individual cannot now be known. It has only been ascertained, that Dickinson drafted the petition to the King and the address to the inhabitants of Quebec, Jay the address to the people of Great Britain, and Lee the memorial to the inhabitants of the British colonies; state papers of great historical value, which extorted a eulogy from Chatham, and which will ever be regarded as among the ablest specimens of practical talent and political wisdom.

While attending the Congress, Washington received a letter from his friend, Captain Mackenzie, of the British army, then stationed at Boston, in which the writer spoke of the rebellious conduct of the Bostonians, the trouble they had given General Gage, their military preparations, and their secret aim at independence. In his answer, after regretting that his friend should be engaged in such a service, he added;

"I do not mean by this to insinuate, that an officer is not to discharge his duty, even when chance, not choice, has placed him in a disagreeable situation; but I conceive, when you condemn the conduct of the Massachusetts people, you reason from effects, not causes; otherwise you would not wonder at a people, who are every day receiving fresh proofs of a systematic assertion of arbitrary power, deeply planned to overturn the laws and constitution of their country, and to violate the most essential and valuable rights of mankind, being irritated, and with difficulty restrained from acts of the greatest violence and intemperance.

"Although you are taught to believe, that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious, setting up for independency, and what not, give me leave, my good

friend, to tell you, that you are abused, grossly abused. This I advance with a degree of confidence and boldness, which may claim your belief, having better opportunities of knowing the real sentiments of the people you are among, from the leaders of them, in opposition to the present measures of the administration, than you have from those whose business it is, not to disclose truths, but to misrepresent facts in order to justify as much as possible to the world their own conduct. Give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges, which are essential to the happiness of every free state, and without which, life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure.

"These, Sir, being certain consequences, which must naturally result from the late acts of Parliament relative to America in general, and the government of Massachusetts Bay in particular, is it to be wondered at, I repeat, that men, who wish to avert the impending blow, should attempt to oppose it in its progress, or prepare for their defence, if it cannot be averted? Surely I may be allowed to answer in the negative; and again give me leave to add as my opinion, that more blood will be spilled on this occasion, if the ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America, and such a vital wound will be given to the peace of this great country, as time itself cannot cure, or eradicate the remembrance of."

What is here said, in regard to independence, is confirmed by the address of the first Congress to the

people of Great Britain. "You have been told, that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured, that these are not facts, but calumnies." That such were at this time the sentiments of the leaders in America, there can be no reasonable doubt; being accordant with all their public acts and private declarations. Considering the temper of the British ministry, and the length to which their blindness and obstinacy had already carried them, a resort to arms was probably anticipated. But it was certainly the opinion of Washington, and, it is believed, of all his principal coadjutors, in the earlier stages of the contest, that a course of measures so obviously impolitic and unjust, and so hostile to the interests of England herself, would not be persevered in, and that a reconciliation would ultimately be effected on such terms as the colonists would accept; that is, by desisting from oppressive claims, and restoring things to their original position. It was his opinion, nevertheless, that the colonists were bound, in duty to themselves and posterity, to vindicate and maintain their ancient liberties, their rights as men and British subjects, and that they ought to be prepared, with all their resources and strength, to meet the issue to which stern necessity might impel them. On this ground he stood firm, never wavering for a moment, looking steadily at the object in view, and regarding the struggles and hazards in attaining it as dust in the balance.

Mr. Wirt relates an anecdote of him, which shows in what estimation he was held by the members of the first Congress. Soon after Patrick Henry returned home, being asked "whom he thought the greatest man in Congress," he replied, "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina is by far the greatest orator; but, if you speak of solid information

and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor." * This opinion was verified by every act of his life. His knowledge, on the subjects to which he gave his attention, was most thorough and exact; and all the world has agreed, that no other man has given such proofs of the soundness of his judgment.

The business of the Congress being over, Washington went back to the occupations of his farm. Little leisure was left him, however, for these favorite pursuits. It had long been a custom in Virginia to form independent companies for military discipline. These companies chose their own officers, adopted uniforms, and provided themselves with colors, arms, and drums, being governed by the general regulations of the militia laws. Companies of this description had recently been encouraged by Governor Dunmore, who had an Indian war upon his hands, and was fitting out a formidable expedition to the West.

Their martial spirit was quickened, when it was perceived that their services might be wanted in a cause of vastly greater moment. As the first military character in the province, Colonel Washington was much consulted by the officers, and his counsels were implicitly followed. He had hardly returned from the Congress, when he was solicited by the independent company of Prince William County to take command of them as field-officer. Other companies tendered him the same honor; and it seemed to be the unanimous expectation of the people, that, in the event of a war, he would be placed at the head of the Virginia forces. He yielded to the solicitations of the companies, reviewed them at the different points of rendezvous,

* Life of Patrick Henry, 3d edition, p. 113.

animated them by his example; and his advice and instructions were received by them as orders, which they were bound to obey.

The second Virginia Convention met at Richmond on the 20th of March, 1775. Washington attended as a delegate. The proceedings of the general Congress were first taken up, examined, discussed, and approved. Patrick Henry then introduced resolutions to establish a more efficient system of embodying, arming, and disciplining the militia. This proposition was startling to some of the members, who thought so bold a step premature, till the result of the last petition to the King should be more fully known. It was carried by a majority, however, who, like Washington, after the experiments already tried, had no faith in the success of petitions. A committee, of which Washington was a member, was accordingly selected to report a plan. Deference would naturally be paid to his superior knowledge and experience in military affairs, and it may be presumed that the scheme was chiefly modelled by him. In defending the above resolutions, Patrick Henry made the celebrated speech, in which he said; "We must fight! I repeat it, Sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and the God of Hosts is all that is left us!"

The Convention next took notice of the internal state of the province. To remedy the wants, which the people would suffer from the cessation of imports, it was proposed to devise a plan for the encouragement of arts and manufactures. Washington was likewise on the committee for digesting and preparing this plan. Various articles were enumerated, most essential for use, which it was believed might be manufactured in the colony, and methods were indicated for accomplishing so desirable an end. The

people were advised to form themselves into societies and committees for mutual intelligence and aid, to offer premiums, and to promote the culture of wool, cotton, flax, and hemp. The members of the Convention agreed, that they would use home manufactures in preference to any others, and recommended this patriotic practice to their constituents.

The former delegates were rechosen to represent Virginia in the next Continental Congress. On the day this choice was made, Washington wrote to his brother, approving his zeal in training an independent company, and adding; "I shall very cheerfully accept the honor of commanding it, if occasion require it to be drawn out, as it is my full intention to devote my life and fortune in the cause we are engaged in, if needful." The time of need soon arrived.

CHAPTER VII.

Meeting of the second Congress. — Washington chosen Commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. — Repairs to Cambridge, and takes the Command. — State of the Army. — His Intercourse with Congress. — Numerous Affairs devolve on him. — Correspondence with General Gage. — The Expedition to Quebec. — Councils of War respecting an Assault on Boston. — Organization of a new Continental Army. — Difficulties of procuring Recruits. — Militia called out. — Maritime Affairs. — Armed Vessels. — General Howe takes Command of the British Army. — Condition of the American Army at the End of the Year. — Washington's Arrangement of his private Affairs.

When the second Congress assembled, on the 10th of May, 1775, the relations between the colonies and Great Britain had assumed an aspect no longer doubtful. The petition of the former Congress, though received by the King, had been treated with silent neglect, and had produced no change of measures or purpose. The tone of the ministry and proceedings of Parliament indicated a fixed determination to persevere in their oppressive demands, and to achieve by force what they could not effect by the menaces of power, or the terror of the civil arm. Hostilities had in fact commenced. The tragical day at Lexington and Concord had occurred. The inexcusable rashness of General Gage, in sending troops into the country on an errand of plunder and bloodshed, had roused the indignation of the inhabitants; and the yeomanry of New England were flying to their arms and rallying around the standard of American liberty. An army, respectable for numbers, strong in spirit and the justice of their cause, had collected in the vicinity of Boston, prepared for combat, and resolved to resist any further encroachments of the now declared enemies to their country.

Such was the crisis, which presented itself to the Congress when they met, and which called for the exercise of all their wisdom and firmness. Notwithstanding the hope, perhaps belief, entertained by many, that a reconciliation would still take place on honorable and satisfactory terms, yet all perceived the necessity of prompt and decided action. To shrink at this moment, to temporize and delay, would be a confession of weakness, an evidence of irresolution, which might prove of incalculable injury, both by damping the ardor of the Americans, and by strengthening the confidence of their foes. Whatever difference of opinion there might be on other points, every member felt, that the hour of preparation was come, and that an organized system must be instituted, which would draw out and concentrate the military resources of the country.

While Congress were deliberating on this subject, Washington wrote a letter to a friend in England, in which, after speaking of the battle of Lexington, he says; "This may serve to convince Lord Sandwich, and others of the same sentiment, that Americans will fight for their liberties and property, however pusillanimous in his Lordship's eyes they may appear in other respects. Unhappy it is, though, to reflect, that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be drenched in blood, or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?"

Congress first proceeded to consider the state of the country, and to provide for defence. Committees were appointed to prepare reports, and it is a proof of the estimation in which the practical talents and experience of Washington were held, that he was chairman of all these committees; first, for recom-

mending what posts should be occupied in the province of New York; secondly, for devising ways and means of procuring ammunition and military stores; thirdly, for making an estimate of money necessary to be raised; fourthly, for preparing rules and regulations for the government of the army. By voting unanimously, that "these colonies be immediately put into a state of defence," Congress virtually assumed a control over the military operations of the whole, and the basis of their plans was laid accordingly. From that time the forces under the direction of Congress were called the Continental Army. They also resolved to raise ten companies of riflemen in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, which were to march and join the army near Boston as soon as possible, and to be paid by the continent.

These preliminary arrangements being finished, the next thing was to appoint a commander-in-chief of the American armies. This was a task of more delicacy and difficulty than might at first be supposed. Many considerations were to be weighed, besides the personal qualifications of any individual for that high station, either as to character, abilities, or military skill. In the first place, it was essential that he should be acceptable to all the colonies, and particularly to such, as, from their position or extent, would be compelled to take the largest share in the war. Otherwise local jealousies and discontents might spring up, which would defeat the best laid schemes, and possibly ruin the cause. Next, there were officers in the country, older in years than Colonel Washington, who had acquired a reputation in the last war, and whose services would be necessary. To pass over such, as should be thought by themselves or their friends to have higher claims, on the score of former rank and

standing, a point in which military men are always so sensitive, might be a hazardous experiment. Besides, the troops already in the field were wholly from the New England provinces, and it was uncertain how far they would be reconciled to a commander from the south, with whom no one among them had a personal acquaintance, and who could not be supposed to understand their habits, feelings, and prepossessions. General Ward, who had hitherto been at the head of the army by the appointment of Massachusetts, and whose command was cheerfully acquiesced in by the other New England colonies, was an officer of experience and ability, and it was questionable in what light an attempt to supersede him might be viewed.

These difficulties were deeply felt by the members of Congress, and examined in all their bearings. Nor had they come together without previously pondering the subject, and ascertaining, as far as they could, the views of men of influence in different places. From the first Congress they had gone home with most favorable impressions of the character and talents of Colonel Washington. All the world acknowledged his military accomplishments, intellectual resources, courage, coolness, and control over the minds of others. Five years' experience, in a responsible and arduous service, had afforded ample proofs of these qualities. It was fortunate, also, that political motives conspired to fix the choice on him in preference to any other person. Virginia was powerful in wealth and numbers, and doubly so in its men of brilliant parts, who had espoused the cause of the continent with a spirit and resolution, which had nowhere else been surpassed. To take the commander of the American armies from that province was a dictate of policy,

which the wise and prudent would not overlook, and none but the narrow-minded could disapprove.

It should be said, to the credit of the New England delegates, that they were among the foremost to propose, and the most zealous to promote, the appointment of Colonel Washington. As the contest had begun in Massachusetts, the inhabitants of which had been the chief sufferers, and as the existing army was mostly raised there, it could not have been thought an extravagant assumption, had that colony aspired to the honor of furnishing a commander-in-chief. But, happily for America, the patriots of that day rose far above the sordid aims of selfishness and party rivalships.

While the discussions were going on in Congress respecting military preparations, Mr. John Adams, one of the delegates from Massachusetts, moved that the army, then besieging the British troops in Boston, should be adopted by Congress as a Continental army; and, in the course of his observations enforcing this motion, he said it was his intention to propose for the office of commander-in-chief a gentleman from Virginia, who was at that time a member of their own body. His remarks were so pointed, that all present perceived them to apply to Colonel Washington, who, upon hearing this reference to himself, retired from his seat and withdrew. When the day for the appointment arrived, the nomination was made by Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland. The choice was by ballot, and, on inspecting the votes, it was found that Colonel Washington was unanimously elected. As soon as the result was ascertained, the House adjourned. On the convening of Congress the next morning, the president communicated to him officially the notice of his appointment, and he rose in his place

and signified his acceptance in a brief and appropriate reply.

After expressing his thanks for the signal honor done him by Congress, and his concern, "from the consciousness that his abilities and military experience might not be equal to the extensive and important trust," he added; "Lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with." Before the election it had been voted, that five hundred dollars a month should be allowed for the pay and expenses of the general. On this point he said; "I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge; and that is all I desire."

In a letter to his wife on this occasion, his sentiments are uttered with the same frankness, the same self-distrust, and under circumstances which prove them to have flowed from his heart.

"You may believe me," said he, "when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavour in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home, than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But, as it has been a kind of des-

tiny, that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. You might, and I suppose did perceive, from the tenor of my letters, that I was apprehensive I could not avoid this appointment, as I did not pretend to intimate when I should return. That was the case. It was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment, without exposing my character to such censures, as would have reflected dishonor upon myself, and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not, to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence, which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me."

The appointment was made on the 15th of June. Four days afterwards he received his commission from the president of Congress, in which he was declared to be commander-in-chief of all the forces then raised, or that should be raised, in the united colonies, or that should voluntarily offer their service for the defence of American Liberty. The members of Congress pledged themselves by a unanimous resolve, to maintain, assist, and adhere to him, with their lives and fortunes, in the same cause. Four major-generals and eight brigadiers were likewise appointed for the Continental army. To the former rank were chosen Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam; to the latter, Seth Pomroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathanael Greene. To these was added Horatio Gates, as adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier.

The situation of affairs required the commander's presence as soon as possible at Cambridge, where the

army was stationed. Every necessary arrangement with Congress was in a short time completed, and he left Philadelphia on the 21st of June, accompanied by General Lee and General Schuyler, and escorted by a volunteer troop of light-horse from the city, which continued with him to New York. He had reviewed in Philadelphia, at the request of the officers, several militia companies of infantry, rangers, riflemen, and light-horse. Wherever he appeared the people manifested great enthusiasm, and eagerness to show him all the respect to which his new rank entitled him. The Provincial Congress of New York was then sitting; and, when it was known that General Washington was on the road, a committee from that body was deputed to meet him at Newark, and attend him across Hudson's River. On his arrival, addresses of congratulation and civility passed between him and the New York Congress.

The particulars of the battle of Bunker's Hill reached him there, and increased his anxiety to hasten forward to the army. General Schuyler was to remain in New York, as commander of the military operations in that quarter. This was a delicate position, as the British Governor Tryon was then in the city, a ship of war in the harbour keeping the inhabitants in awe, and throughout the province were many powerful and avowed friends of the royal cause. But great confidence was placed in the fidelity, discretion, and firmness of General Schuyler. After giving him instructions suitable to the exigences of the case, General Washington again pursued his journey, escorted by volunteer military companies. In this manner he travelled to Springfield, where he was met by a committee from the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, who were instructed to provide escorts, and to attend him in

person, through the remainder of the route. He arrived in Cambridge on the 2d of July, and took command of the army the next day.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, then sitting at Watertown near Cambridge, received him with great cordiality, and presented to him an address, proffering every aid in their power to make his command agreeable, and to strengthen his efforts in the common cause. The testimonies of respect and satisfaction, as well from individuals as public bodies, which he had everywhere received, were of the most flattering kind, and demonstrated that the people were not less unanimous in approving the choice of Congress, than the members of that assembly had been in making it. The army greeted him with equal warmth, and hitherto every indication tended to inspire a just confidence in himself, and the best hopes for the future.

His first care was to ascertain the numbers, position, and arrangements of the troops, to inspect the posts they occupied, and to gain a knowledge of the strength and plans of the enemy. The British general was himself stationed in Boston, with the light-horse and a few other troops; the bulk of his army lay on Bunker's Hill, busy in throwing up intrenchments; and the remainder were on the neck of land between Boston and Roxbury, which had been strongly fortified. The Americans were so posted as to form a complete line of siege around Boston and Charlestown, extending nearly twelve miles from Mystic River to Dorchester. Intrenchments and redoubts had been begun at different points in this line, and these works were still in progress. The regiments from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and part of those from Connecticut, occupied Winter Hill

and Prospect Hill; several of the Massachusetts regiments were at Cambridge; and others from Connecticut and Massachusetts covered the high grounds in Roxbury.

Having acquainted himself with this state of affairs, General Washington convened a council of war. It was the opinion of the council, that, according to the best information that could be obtained, the enemy's available force in Boston amounted to eleven thousand five hundred men, including the regular troops, Tories, and such sailors as might be spared from the fleet. It was also advised, without a dissenting voice, that the posts now occupied should be held and defended, and that twenty-two thousand men were necessary to give proper security to so long an extent of lines. A place of rendezvous, in case the army should be attacked and routed, was likewise agreed upon.

The difficulty was perceived of sustaining posts so widely separated, almost under the guns of the enemy, and exposed at many points to sudden assaults; and the question of removing farther into the country to a stronger position was discussed. But this was thought to be neither politic in itself, nor without hazard in the execution. It would discourage the men, elate the enemy, and have an ill effect upon the minds of the people. This consideration, added to the uncertainty of finding a better place at which to make a stand, and to the great labor and charge already bestowed on the works for defence, was regarded as conclusive against a change.

The American army, including the sick and absent, amounted to about seventeen thousand men; but the number present, fit for duty, was only fourteen thousand five hundred. This was so far short of the number wanted, that the council recommended an immediate

application to the New England governments to make up the deficiency by new recruits.

It will easily be supposed, that an army, collected as this had been on the spur of the moment from different provinces and under different regulations, would be defective in many essential parts. There were few tents and stores, no supply of clothing, no military chest, no general organization. The regiments acted under their respective commanders, who were united only by mutual consent, bound together by no military law, and, except those from Massachusetts, yielding obedience to General Ward rather from courtesy and the necessity of the case, than from any recognition of his superior authority. The troops of each province were regulated by their own militia laws. These were various and discordant; and hence no general system could prevail. Discipline was lax; disorders frequent.

But the most alarming want was that of ammunition, respecting which the officers themselves seem to have been deceived, till General Washington discovered, to his great astonishment, that there was not powder enough in the whole camp for nine cartridges to a man.

Out of these materials, and in the midst of these embarrassments, it was General Washington's first task to form, commission, and systematize an army. Another circumstance caused great perplexity from the beginning. The appointment of general officers by Congress had given much dissatisfaction. The pretensions to rank, on the score of former services, had not been well adjusted. The subordinate officers and private soldiers mingled their sympathies and complaints, and threatened to leave the army unless these grievances should be redressed. Symptoms of discontent appeared in every quarter, and threatened to destroy the little that remained of method and discipline. The ferment was

gradually allayed by the prudence of Washington, who referred the matter to Congress, and proceeded steadily to mature his plans.

He arranged the army into six brigades, of six regiments each, in such a manner that the troops from the same colony should be brought together, as far as practicable, and act under a commander from that colony. Of the whole he made three grand divisions, each consisting of two brigades, or twelve regiments. The division forming the left wing was stationed at Winter Hill, and commanded by Major-General Lee; the centre division was at Cambridge, under Major-General Putnam; and the right wing at Roxbury, under Major-General Ward. The head-quarters of the Commander-in-chief were with the centre at Cambridge.

Thus was planted the original germ of the Continental army, to foster the growth and strength of which required the utmost care and address. All the officers were commissioned anew by Congress, although no changes of rank were attempted, and no appointments made, except of the major and brigadier generals. By degrees the system worked itself into a tolerable method; but, after all, it was full of imperfections, which no art or skill could remedy. The soldiers had been enlisted by their respective governments for a definite time and object, and they looked upon this contract as one which they were bound to fulfil, but not such as could put them under any other power. Each individual regarded himself as a party concerned, and claimed his rights as a citizen.

Hence, when the rules and regulations of the Continental army, which had been prescribed by Congress, were presented to them, many would not accede, because they did not enlist on such terms, and they were apprehensive some new obligations might devolve on

them by giving their assent. Having left their homes to fight for liberty, they chose to assert it first in their own behalf. However repugnant this temper was to the existence of an army, the commander yielded to his good sense, and resorted to no other force than that of argument and facts, judiciously set forth from time to time in the general orders; tenacious of his authority no farther than the public good exacted, and forbearing to oppose prejudices, which could not be softened by persuasion nor subdued by severity. He left it optional with the men to subscribe the articles or not, making it a necessary condition only with the new recruits, who enlisted into the Continental ranks.

In addition to the management and direction of the armies in the field, which is all that is usually expected from a commander-in-chief, a most responsible service of a different kind was thrown upon General Washington. Congress, as the civil head of the confederacy, was as yet feeble in its powers, imperfectly organized, distrustful of its control over the public will, and wholly unversed in military concerns. Nor did unanimity reign among its members. On the great point of resistance, till wrongs should be redressed, there was but one voice. As to the means of attaining this end, a wide difference prevailed. Some were timid, fixing their hopes upon a speedy reconciliation; others doubted the ability of the country to sustain a contest; others were influenced by local interests; while others again were resolute, and allowed all thoughts of future consequences to be swallowed up in the single consideration of the justice of their cause. The majority were of this last description. Yet even these men, dauntless in spirit, and willing to risk every thing on their own account, were haunted by a spectre, which gave them great uneasiness. History had told them of the danger of

military power, the ambition of aspiring leaders, and the chains that had been forged and riveted on an unsuspicious people by standing armies. These lessons made a deep impression, and infused a distrust incompatible with enlarged schemes or energetic action. Thus it was, that the same ardor of patriotism, which impelled them to encounter every hazard, operated as a check to the only measures by which their object could be gained.

These misgivings were early discovered by Washington. He respected the motive, although he could not but lament its effects. Conscious, on his own part, of the highest purity of purpose, and harbouring no latent thought, which was not directed to the best good of his country, if he felt wounded at this suspicion, he did not suffer it to appear in his conduct, nor to alter his opinion of the watchful guardians of the people's liberty. Example, he wisely thought, would be more regarded than complaint, more persuasive than words. If ability and courage are necessary in a commander, he soon saw, that, in his case at least, patience, forbearance, and fortitude, were not less so.

A regular army and a military system were to be created, and on such principles as would insure their stability and continuance. This great work was to be executed mainly by the Commander-in-chief. Congress might approve, sanction, and aid; but it was his task to invent, combine, organize, establish, and sustain. To this end he kept up an unremitted correspondence with Congress during the whole war. His letters were read to the House in full session, and almost every important resolution respecting the army was adopted on his suggestion or recommendation, and emanated from his mind. He was thus literally the centre of motion to this immense and complicated machine, not more in directing

its operations, than in providing for its existence, and preserving from derangement and ruin its various parts. His perplexities were often increased by the distance at which he was stationed from Congress, the tardy movements of that body, and the long time it took to obtain the results of their deliberations. By a constant watchfulness and forethought, and by anticipating the future in his communications, he contrived to lessen this inconvenience as far as it could be done.

Besides his unceasing intercourse with Congress, he was obliged to correspond with the heads of the provincial governments, and afterwards with the governors and legislatures of the States, with conventions, committees, and civil magistrates. In these were really vested the executive powers of the confederated government. Congress recommended, advised, resolved; they voted men and supplies, assigning due proportions to the respective States; here their authority ceased. The rest was left to the will of the people, exercised through their representatives in the State legislatures. These bodies required the perpetual promptings of the Commander-in-chief, with forcible representations of the weakness and wants of the army, and appeals to all the motives which could stimulate patriotism or touch the springs of interest. One advantage, however, attended these harassing relations, which might compensate for so extraordinary a weight of care and responsibility. They brought him into more direct contact with the sources of power, and enabled him to extend his influence, and the fruits of his wisdom, into channels where they were most needed, and would produce the best effects; thus enlarging the compass of his own consideration, and promoting public harmony and union.

He had not been long in camp, when he was called upon to exercise his firmness in a manner, that for a

moment threatened disagreeable consequences. The enemy's armed vessels were hovering on the coast, seizing small craft, and menacing towns on the seaboard. The inhabitants were alarmed, and claimed protection. The legislature of Massachusetts and the Governor of Connecticut applied to Washington with a formal request, that he would detach troops from the army for that purpose. To refuse this request was delicate; to grant it, dangerous. In the former case, it would excite the clamors of the people and the dissatisfaction of their rulers; in the latter, it would weaken the army so much, as to leave the camp exposed to a successful assault, and the country around Boston to insult and ravage. The army itself might be dispersed, and the hopes of the continent blighted in the bud. He did not hesitate. He declined, and stated his reasons in language so judicious and forcible, as to avoid giving offence, and to blunt the edge of disappointment. This precedent was followed throughout the war. It was established as a rule, that attacks of the enemy at isolated points along the coast must be repelled by the militia in the vicinity, except when the Continental army was in a condition to make detachments without jeoparding the general cause.

There was a project on foot for an expedition from Maine against Nova Scotia, which some members of the Massachusetts legislature were disposed to aid. Washington discouraged it as inexpedient, if not improper. He said the inhabitants of Nova Scotia had committed no hostilities, and that such an enterprise would be a measure of conquest rather than defence, which he conceived to be contrary to the principles upon which the colonies had hitherto acted. They had taken up arms to defend their liberties, and not to disturb the quiet of their neighbours. In such a step, also, there would be

a risk of making enemies of those, who were willing to be friends.

General Gage commanded the British troops in Boston. Prisoners had fallen into his hands on the eventful day at Bunker's Hill, and he had seized other persons accused of disaffection to the King. These he had thrown indiscriminately into prison, no distinction being made between officers, soldiers, and citizens. The report went abroad, that they were treated with great severity. Justice to his country, and the calls of humanity, made it incumbent on Washington to remonstrate against such conduct. He wrote to the British general. The occasion awakened recollections of more than common interest. Just twenty years had elapsed since he and Gage fought side by side on the bloody battle-field of the Monongahela. An intimacy then subsisted between them, which was cherished afterwards by a friendly correspondence. Far different was the relation in which they now stood to each other, at the head of contending armies; the one obeying the commands of his sovereign, the other upholding the cause of an oppressed people.

Their letters were significant of the change. The remonstrance of Washington, clothed in dignified but pointed language, represented the impolicy as well as cruelty of ill treatment to prisoners, since it would impose upon him the necessity of retaliating, and there would be no end to the horrors of war, if such a system were pursued. General Gage denied the charge of harsh usage, and took credit to himself for his clemency in sparing persons, "whose lives by the law of the land were destined to the cord." As to difference of rank, he professed not to know any, which was not derived from the King.

These principles set at nought all the rules of honorable warfare, and indicated that the highest officers in the American army, if captured, would be treated as culprits. The only apparent remedy was retaliation. The prisoners in Washington's possession were immediately ordered into the country, and he gave directions that they should receive in every respect the same treatment, as was known to be practised on the unfortunate sufferers in Boston. Such was his first impulse; but, however justified by the laws of war, he could not reconcile to himself an act, which should inflict punishment on innocent men for the folly or obduracy of a commander. The order was countermanded, while the prisoners were on the road to Northampton, the place of their destination; and Colonel Reed, one of his aids-de-camp, wrote to the committee of the town, directing that the prisoners should be at liberty to go abroad on their parole. He added; "The General further requests, that every other indulgence and civility consistent with their security may be shown to them, as long as they demean themselves with decency and good manners. As they have committed no hostility against the people of this country, they have a just claim to mild treatment; and the General does not doubt, that your conduct towards them will be such, as to compel their grateful acknowledgments, that Americans are as merciful as they are brave."

In replying to General Gage's letter, Washington said; "You affect, Sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source as your own. I cannot conceive one more honorable, than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power. Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas would apprehend and respect

it." The indiscretion and weakness of the British general's conduct admit of no defence; yet it should be remembered, that he was taught by his superiors to look upon the asserters of liberty in America as rebels, and to treat them as such. Little can be said, however, in praise of his political sagacity, knowledge of human nature, or enlargement of mind.

The army was soon augmented by the companies of riflemen from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, which had been raised in compliance with a resolution of the Continental Congress. The companies were filled up with surprising quickness, and on their arrival in camp the numbers of several of them exceeded the prescribed limit. Within two months from the time the orders were sent out, they had been enlisted and equipped, and had marched from four to seven hundred miles to the army at Cambridge.

General Washington had the satisfaction to find, also, that the reinforcements of militia, which he had requested from the New England governments to strengthen his camp, came in as expeditiously as could be desired.

Before these accessions to his force, he had meditated an enterprise, which held out a fair promise of success. General Schuyler had been ordered by Congress to the command of the northern department on Lake Champlain, with instructions to take possession of St. John's, Montreal, and other parts of Canada, if it should be found practicable and not displeasing to the inhabitants. This step, it was foreseen, would draw General Carleton from Quebec, with all the troops he could collect, to defend the invaded frontiers. That city and fortress would thus be left an easy conquest; as there was no probability that they could be reinforced from England before the winter would set in, and close the river with ice. If the main object of taking Quebec should not be

attained, the attempt would at least call back General Carleton for its protection, and open the southern borders of Canada to the incursions of the American troops. General Schuyler approved the enterprise, and agreed to act in concert.

The plan was carefully matured, and put into immediate execution. General Washington detached eleven hundred men, including three rifle companies, with orders to march into Canada through the wilderness, by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière Rivers, and then to act as circumstances might dictate. The command of the expedition, regarded by Washington as "of the utmost consequence to the interest and liberties of America," was intrusted to Colonel Arnold. This officer had lately returned from Lake Champlain, where he had performed a conspicuous part with Ethan Allen in the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. His reputation for courage, energy, and military talents already stood high.

The instructions he received from the Commander-in-chief were humane, politic, and peremptory. He was forbidden on any pretence to disturb the quiet or offend the prejudices of the Canadians, and ordered to respect their religious observances, to pay them liberally for such articles as he should want, and to punish with rigor any improper acts of the soldiers towards them. He was to seek and annoy the British forces in Canada, but not to molest the people, or do any thing to alienate their good will from the American cause.

To detail the fortunes, sufferings, romantic incidents, and various results of this expedition is not consistent with our present design. It is enough to say, that it was conceived on just principles, well conducted, and partially successful. It was weakened on the route by the defection and return of a colonel, with a large

detachment, who assigned as a reason the want of provisions. In a little more than two months from the time he left Cambridge, Arnold was encamped on the Plains of Abraham under the walls of Quebec, his effective strength being five hundred and fifty men. He summoned the town to surrender, but his force was too small to warrant an assault. The other aim of the undertaking was effected. It caused a diversion of the enemy favorable to the operations of General Montgomery, who, at the head of the American army, entered Canada from Lake Champlain, took Montreal, and ultimately formed a junction with Arnold near Quebec.

The conduct of Arnold, in the management of the expedition, was approved by the Commander-in-chief, and applauded by the country. He had overcome obstacles of the most formidable kind, sustained the fortitude of his men when sinking under incredible hardships from cold, hunger, and fatigue, and proved the confidence in his resources and activity not to have been misplaced.

The deficiency of powder in the camp at Cambridge continued to be a cause of extreme anxiety to Washington. Small quantities were collected, but in no proportion to the demand. What added to his concern was, that the enemy might discover his weakness on this account, and march out to attack him. In such an event, the whole army must inevitably be routed and dispersed. Secrecy was indispensable; and consequently the people at large were as ignorant of his condition, as the enemy within their lines. Murmurs began to be audible that the army was inactive, and that a superiority of numbers might justify an attempt against the town. The subject was referred to a council of general officers, who unanimously opposed such an experiment. A report next gained credit, that tenderness for the

inhabitants of the town, and reluctance to burn their houses and property, were motives for this forbearance. Congress, either participating this sentiment, or willing to hazard the consequences, hinted their wishes to the General by suggesting, that, "if he thought it practicable to defeat the enemy and gain possession of the town, it would be advisable to make the attack upon the first favorable occasion, and before the arrival of reinforcements, which Congress apprehended might soon be expected." Another council was called, a month after the above, to consider this suggestion, and again there was a unanimous voice against it. Whatever Washington's own opinion may have been, he was constrained to acquiesce in silence; for it would have been highly imprudent to undertake such an enterprise, while all the officers were opposed to it, and his actual condition demanded concealment from the public.

Occasional cannonades and skirmishes took place at the advanced points on the lines, but the enemy showed no disposition to leave their intrenchments. In fact, they never meditated an attack, unless reinforcements should arrive. General Gage wrote to Lord Dartmouth, that such an attempt, if successful, would be fruitless, as there were neither horses nor carriages for transportation, and no other end could be answered than to drive the Americans from one strong-hold to another.

The time was drawing near when it would be necessary to form a new army. The Connecticut and Rhode Island troops were engaged to serve only till the beginning of December, and none beyond the end of that month. The attention of Congress had been called to the subject, and a committee of three members was appointed to repair to the camp, and meet delegates from the New England colonies, for the purpose of devising the most effectual means of continuing, regu-

lating, and supporting the Continental army. Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison were the committee, and they joined the delegates at Washington's head-quarters on the 18th of October.

As the persons constituting this convention were unskilled in military affairs, the plan proposed by General Washington, which had been discussed and matured by a council of officers, was in the main adopted. It was conceived, that, to give proper security, the American army ought to be numerically twice as large as that of the enemy in Boston. Twenty-six regiments, therefore, were assigned for the new organization, besides riflemen and artillery, each regiment being divided into eight companies. The whole number of men would then by estimate amount to twenty thousand three hundred and seventy-two. Many of those already on the ground, whose term of service was soon to expire, it was hoped would reënlist, and the deficiency was to be supplied by recruits from the country. The delegates supposed that thirty-two thousand men might be raised in the four New England colonies for one year, the period fixed by Congress for all the enlistments.

After the convention was dissolved, the committee from Congress continued to sit, and took various other subjects into consideration. The articles of war underwent a revision, and several changes were introduced, which experience had proved to be necessary. Regulations for disposing of prizes captured at sea, for the exchange of prisoners, the employment of Indians, and many local details relating to the army, came under notice, and certain definite rules were agreed upon. When the committee returned to Congress, their proceedings were approved and confirmed.

This conference was of great service to the Commander-in-chief. It afforded an opportunity of ex-

pressing his sentiments with more freedom and fulness, than he could do by written communications. A system was likewise formed for future operations in which he could confide, as both Congress and the eastern colonies were bound to support the measures agreed upon by their representatives.

The next step was to organize the army according to the new arrangement, to appoint the colonels and inferior officers of the several regiments, and issue recruiting orders. This was an affair of great delicacy and embarrassment. It was in the highest degree important to retain as many of the men as possible, who were now in the ranks; and it was soon discovered, that very few would remain, unless they could know beforehand what officers they were to serve under, and could have all their partialities gratified. Local considerations threw many obstacles in the way. Care must be taken, that each colony should have its due proportion of officers, according to the number of men it was expected to furnish; and that their rank should be so adjusted as to suit the caprices of some, and the extravagant claims of others. The task was formidable, but it was at last accomplished, and the recruiting began.

In addition to the concerns of the army, Washington was obliged to bestow much time and attention on maritime affairs. No public vessels as yet belonged to the continent, nor had Congress made any provision for a naval warfare. While the British troops and the inhabitants of Boston were shut up within the limits of that town, and excluded from a direct intercourse with the country, it was necessary that all their supplies should come to them by water; and the large number of vessels employed in this service suggested the idea of fitting out cruisers in the ports along the coast to capture them. Having no instructions to this effect, yet

believing it compatible with the general design of annoying and distressing the enemy, Washington took on himself the responsibility of equipping and sending out armed vessels. Agents were employed in Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Plymouth to procure and fit them out, and they were manned by officers and sailors from the army. His instructions to the captains were precise and guarded; and, that he might seem to act under the authority of his commission, he ordered them to "take command of a detachment of the army, with which they were to proceed on board, cruise against such vessels as were found in the service of the enemy, and seize all such as were laden with soldiers, arms, ammunition, or provisions."

In a few weeks six armed schooners were under sail, cruising in the waters of Massachusetts Bay. Several captures were made, and particularly a valuable one by Captain Manly, consisting of munitions of war. But, on the whole, the first enterprises were not crowned with signal success. Some of the officers proved incompetent, the men mutinied, and the management of the business in its details caused infinite trouble. The system was improved by degrees, other vessels were fitted out, and Congress provided prize-courts and regulations, which resulted at length in the establishment of a Continental Navy. But General Washington was not relieved from this charge, till after the enemy evacuated Boston.

One incident illustrative of his character should be here mentioned. Two armed vessels were despatched to the River St. Lawrence, with orders to intercept two brigantines, which it had been understood were to sail from England to Quebec with arms and ammunition. Failing in this object, the captains made a descent upon the Island of St. John's, pillaged the inhabitants,

and brought some of them away prisoners. Whether this act was consistent or not with the customary rules of warfare, it was severely reprimanded by Washington, who immediately set the prisoners at liberty, treated them with the greatest kindness, restored all the property that had been taken, and provided the best means in his power to send them back to their homes.

The burning of Falmouth, an act of personal malice and cruel wantonness on the part of a British naval officer, and the threats of the enemy that the same fate should fall upon other seaport towns, produced consternation, and the most pressing requests to General Washington for assistance in powder, arms, and troops. Again he was compelled, by the necessities of his own situation, to withhold the relief so strenuously solicited. His sympathies were keenly affected by their sufferings, and his popularity was jeoparded by the refusal; yet in this case, as in all others, a stern sense of duty subdued his private feelings and fortified his judgment.

When the news of the battle of Bunker's Hill reached the British cabinet, General Gage was recalled, "in order to give his Majesty exact information of every thing, and suggest such matters as his knowledge and experience of the service enabled him to furnish." In the dearly bought victory at Bunker's Hill he had made a discovery, which seems to have been not less astonishing to himself, than mortifying to the ministers. "The trials we have had," said he, in a letter to Lord Dartmouth, "show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be." In the opinion of the ministers, this intelligence showed likewise, that General Gage had been duped by ill advisers or his own ignorance, and that, either from obstinacy, want of address, or incapacity, he was not competent

to the station he occupied. On the 1st of October he was superseded in the command by General Howe.

The abilities of this officer were perhaps superior to those of his predecessor, but they did not grow by experience in the public estimation. He possessed the advantage, however, of not having mingled in the exciting events, in which General Gage had acted such a part as to bring down upon him the ill will and reproaches of the people. General Howe was a brother of Lord Howe, who had been slain at Ticonderoga in the last war, and whose memory was ever cherished with warm affection by the colonists. Hence he had nothing to contend against but the physical force, determined spirit, and political skill of the Americans. Prejudices were in his favor, and no antipathies existed. Unluckily he imbibed the idea, that he was quelling a rebellion, and that a scrupulous regard to the rules of honorable warfare was not exacted in such a contest. It would be hard to blame him, perhaps, on this score, since he was only conforming to the spirit of his instructions; yet a little more discernment in penetrating the actual state of things around him, a little more discretion and sagacity in adapting his conduct to circumstances, would have shown his character in a better light without diminishing the value of his services in the cause he was set to maintain.

The enlistments in the new army went on slowly. The dissatisfaction and cabals of the officers, the exacting temper and undisciplined habits of the men, occasioned endless perplexities. General Washington felt intense anxiety. His patience and fortitude were tried in the severest manner. A month's experiment had obtained only five thousand recruits. At one time he was flattered with promises, at another almost every gleam of hope was extinguished, till at length, when

the term of service of the Connecticut troops was about to expire, it was ascertained that they would go off in a body, and leave a fearful blank in an army already deficient in numbers and weakened by internal disorders. He appealed to every motive, which could stimulate their patriotism, pride, or sense of honor, but all in vain; and it was with the greatest difficulty, that he could persuade them to stay ten days longer, till the militia could be assembled to supply their place.

Orders were issued for calling in the militia. By a prudent foresight he had suggested to Congress the necessity of being intrusted with this authority, and it was granted in general terms. But here again a new trouble arose. The same spectre of military domination, which had from the first struck so much dread into the minds of many persons, and had limited the existence of the present army to one year, was still busy in spreading its terrors, and tormenting its adversaries. If the Commander-in-chief could call out the whole force of the country at his option, where would be the bounds of his power, where the checks to soaring ambition, where the safeguard of the people's liberties? Such questions were asked in a tone of triumphant confidence, implying that they could not be answered. Happily Congress put an end to them by a simple expedient. They amended their resolve, by making it incumbent on the Commander-in-chief to gain the consent of the executive authority of each colony, before he summoned its militia. In fact he had hitherto proceeded in this way, and probably always would have done so; but this form of the resolve allayed the fears of the alarmists, and was equally effectual.*

* An incident is related as having occurred while he was in the Convention for forming the Constitution, which was probably suggested by his experience during the war. A member proposed to introduce a

When General Washington complained to Governor Trumbull of the extraordinary conduct of the Connecticut troops, the latter replied; "There is great difficulty to support liberty, to exercise government, and maintain subordination, and at the same time to prevent the operation of licentious and levelling principles, which many very easily imbibe. The pulse of a New England man beats high for liberty; his engagement in the service he thinks purely voluntary; therefore, when the time of enlistment is out, he thinks himself not holden without further engagement. This was the case in the last war. I greatly fear its operation amongst the soldiers of the other colonies, as I am sensible this is the genius and spirit of our people." Another consideration had great weight, perhaps greater than all the rest. The men expected a bounty. A soldier's pay did not satisfy them, as they could obtain better wages in other employments, without the fatigues and privations of a camp. Congress had declared against bounties, and they could not be offered, unless the colonies should choose to do it individually on their own account.

At the end of the year, when the old army was dissolved, the whole number of the new establishment was nine thousand six hundred and fifty. More than a thousand of these men were absent on furloughs, which it had been necessary to grant as a condition of reënlistment. This result was peculiarly discouraging. "It is easier to conceive than describe," said General Washington, "the situation of my mind for some time past, and my feelings under our present circumstances. Search the volumes of history through, and I much

clause into the constitution, limiting a standing army to *five thousand* men. Washington observed, that he should have no objection to such a clause, if it were so amended as to provide, that no enemy should presume to invade the United States with more than *three thousand*.

question whether a case similar to ours is to be found; namely, to maintain a post against the flower of the British troops for six months together, without powder, and then to have one army disbanded and another to be raised within the same distance of a reinforced enemy." His immediate safety, however, was secured by the addition of five thousand militia, who soon came in, and were to remain till the middle of January. And the advanced state of the season rendered it improbable that the enemy would undertake sudden enterprises.

When General Washington accepted the appointment of Congress, he supposed it would be in his power to visit his family in the winter, and attend for a short space to his private affairs. This was found impracticable, or at least inconsistent with the duties of his charge; and Mrs. Washington joined him at headquarters in December, where she remained till the next spring. This was her practice during the war. She passed the winters with her husband in camp, and returned at the opening of the campaigns to Mount Vernon.

His large estates were consigned to the care of a superintendent, Mr. Lund Washington, in whom he had confidence, and who executed the trust with diligence and fidelity. Notwithstanding the multitude of public concerns, which at all times pressed heavily, and which he never neglected, the thoughts of General Washington constantly reverted to his farms. In the midst of the most stirring and eventful scenes of the war, he kept up an unremitted correspondence with his manager, in which he entered into details, gave minute instructions, and exacted in return frequent and full reports of the particulars relating to the culture of his

lands, their products, the condition of the laborers, and every transaction of business.

An extract from one of his letters on these topics will show a trait of character, and the footing on which he left his household at Mount Vernon.

"Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness; and I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor wife is now in the way to do these good offices. In all other respects, I recommend it to you, and have no doubt of your observing the greatest economy and frugality; as I suppose you know, that I do not get a farthing for my services here, more than my expenses. It becomes necessary, therefore, for me to be saving at home."

CHAPTER VIII.

Plans for an Attack on Boston. — Condition of the Army. — Dorchester Heights fortified. — Evacuation of Boston. — Troops march to New York. — Washington repairs to Congress. — His Views in Regard to the State of the Country. — Machinations of the Tories, and Measures taken to defeat them. — Declaration of Independence. — Arrival of Lord Howe, with Proposals for a Reconciliation with the Colonies. — Mode of addressing Letters to Washington attempted by the British Admiral and General. — Strength and Condition of the two Armies. — Battle of Long Island. — Remarks on the Battle. — Impression made by it on the American Army and Public.

Towards the end of December it was ascertained, that General Howe was fitting out a part of his fleet in the harbour of Boston for some secret enterprise. Its destination could only be conjectured; but the season of the year and other circumstances induced a belief, that an operation at the south was in view. Fears were entertained for New York, then in a defenceless condition, feeble from the timid counsels of its provincial Congress, awed by a British man-of-war, and distracted by the artifices of Governor Tryon, whose presence and address had kept together on Long Island a formidable body of Tories, some concealed, others undisguised.

No efforts were to be spared to prevent the enemy from gaining possession of so important a post as New York, which, with Hudson's River, opened a direct channel to Canada, through which an invading army might pass, to the great injury of the interior country, if not to the discomfiture of the army in the northern department. In the present state of General Washington's forces, he could not send a detachment from camp. As the most promising scheme that offered,

General Lee was despatched, with instructions from the Commander-in-chief to raise volunteers in Connecticut, hasten forward to New York, call to his aid other troops from New Jersey, put the city in the best posture of defence which his means would permit, disarm the Tories and other persons inimical to the rights and liberties of America, and guard the fortifications on Hudson's River.

The duty was delicate in itself, and difficult in the execution, requiring energy and firmness, tempered with a moderation seldom conspicuous in the character of General Lee. In this instance, however, he was judicious and successful. A committee from Congress met him at New York, by whose prudence his exuberant ardor was restrained, and who, by bracing up the civil authorities with a little more courage, brought about a coöperation favorable to vigorous measures. The alarm for the safety of New York was premature. The fleet from Boston, having on board several regiments under the command of General Clinton, sailed to North Carolina, in the prosecution of a plan previously formed in the British cabinet, at the recommendation of Governor Martin, for making a descent upon that colony.

Meantime General Washington became more and more impatient to make an attack on Boston. He summoned a council of officers on the 16th of January, to whom with strong arguments he urged the necessity of such an attempt before the enemy should be reinforced, and requested their opinion. They agreed that the attack ought not to be deferred a moment after there should be a fair hope of its succeeding; but, with the force then in the field, they believed it impracticable. That his feelings were keenly affected by his situation, is apparent from the tone of a letter written at the time. "Could I have foreseen the difficulties,"

said he, "which have come upon us; could I have known that such backwardness would have been discovered by the old soldiers to the service, all the generals upon earth should not have convinced me of the propriety of delaying an attack upon Boston till this time." He alludes here to the soldiers of the first army, who had refused to enlist, and gone home, in much greater numbers than he had anticipated.

The new regiments were increasing very tardily. The time for which the five thousand militia engaged to serve had expired, and a few only could be prevailed upon to stay longer. Another call for militia was indispensable. Seven regiments were apportioned to Massachusetts, four to Connecticut, and two to New Hampshire. By the time these should come in, it was hoped the ice on the waters around Boston would be frozen hard enough to facilitate an assault on the town.

Just at this moment arrived the news of the repulse at Quebec, and the death of General Montgomery, with an urgent request from General Schuyler, that three thousand men should be immediately sent into Canada, as the smallest force necessary to retrieve the loss, and to sustain the cause in that colony. Such a detachment from Washington's army was impossible, without ruin to himself; but, ever prompt to provide for exigences and to act for the general good, he instantly applied to the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire to furnish each a regiment, which should continue in service one year, and march forthwith to Canada. To relieve these colonies from an increased burden, he allowed the three regiments to be taken from his last requisition, reserving ten for the main army. The proposal was well received, and the troops were raised and marched to Canada during the winter.

Besides the want of powder, which had at no time

been supplied in any adequate quantity, the deficiency of arms threatened serious consequences. There were nearly two thousand men in camp without firelocks. Every expedient was tried to procure them, but with little effect. The New England governments had none to furnish. The militia, reluctant to part with their arms, carried them away when they returned home. Officers were sent into the country with money to purchase them. A few were obtained in this way, but not enough to arm all the men.

Despondency was seldom known, perhaps never, to unsettle the constancy or self-command of Washington. He seemed to gather new strength by resisting the pressure of difficulties thickening around him. Borne up by a conscious integrity, weighing well every act of his life, convinced of the justice of his cause, and habitually trusting in the direction of an overruling Providence, his far-reaching mind looked steadily to the end, and he went onward, resolute in purpose, strong in hope. The events of the last six months, however, and the position in which he was now placed, could not but awaken anxious forebodings, and touch his sensibility. He saw his own reputation and the vital interests of his country in jeopardy. The means of rescuing the one from unmerited censure, and securing the other on a solid basis, were feeble, remote, uncertain. The following is his language on the occasion, contained in a letter to a friend.

"I know the unhappy predicament in which I stand; I know that much is expected of me; I know, that, without men, without arms, without ammunition, without any thing fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done; and, what is mortifying, I know that I cannot stand justified to the world without exposing my own weakness, and injuring the cause, by declaring

my wants, which I am determined not to do, farther than unavoidable necessity brings every man acquainted with them. My situation is so irksome to me at times, that, if I did not consult the public good more than my own tranquillity, I should long ere this have put every thing on the cast of a die. So far from my having an army of twenty thousand men well armed, I have been here with less than half that number, including sick, furloughed, and on command, and those neither armed nor clothed as they should be. In short, my situation has been such, that I have been obliged to use art to conceal it from my own officers."

As a contrast to this representation, proving the buoyancy of his mind and his determined spirit under the heaviest depression, another passage is here quoted from the same letter.

"With respect to myself, I have never entertained an idea of an accommodation, since I heard of the measures, which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker's Hill fight. The King's speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair; and, if every man was of my mind, the ministers of Great Britain should know, in a few words, upon what issue the cause should be put. I would not be deceived by artful declarations, nor specious pretences; nor would I be amused by unmeaning propositions; but in open, undisguised, and manly terms proclaim our wrongs, and our resolution to be redressed. I would tell them, that we had borne much, that we had long and ardently sought for reconciliation upon honorable terms, that it had been denied us, that all our attempts after peace had proved abortive, and had been grossly misrepresented, that we had done every thing which could be expected from the best of subjects, that the spirit of freedom rises too high in us to submit to slavery.

This I would tell them, not under covert, but in words as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness."

By degrees the affairs of the army assumed a more favorable aspect. Owing to the mildness of the winter, little ice was formed till the middle of February, when it was sufficiently strong to enable the troops to march over it from Roxbury and Dorchester. The Commander-in-chief proposed to take advantage of this opportunity, and make an immediate assault on Boston. His opinion was overruled by a council of officers, much to his disappointment and chagrin. "Though we had been waiting all the year," said he, "for this favorable event, the enterprise was thought too dangerous. Perhaps it was; perhaps the irksomeness of my situation led me to undertake more than could be warranted by prudence. I did not think so, and I am sure yet, that the enterprise, if it had been undertaken with resolution, must have succeeded; without it, any would fail." It was resolved, however, that active operations should commence, and that possession should be taken of Dorchester Heights, which might possibly bring out the enemy to an engagement in that quarter, and thus, by dividing the forces in Boston, lead to a general attack.

Speedy arrangements were made for executing this plan, and the essential part of it was effected by a body of troops, who marched in the night under the command of General Thomas, gained the summit of the Heights without being discovered, and by great activity erected before morning such works, as would secure them against the enemy's shot. To divert the attention of General Howe, an incessant cannonade and bombardment upon the town had been kept up the two preceding nights, and during the same night, from Lechmere's Point, Cobble Hill, and Roxbury.

As Dorchester Heights commanded the harbour, and also Nook's Hill, from which the town could easily be annoyed by cannon and mortars, it was expected that the enemy would attempt to dislodge the American detachment, and that the scenes of Bunker's Hill would again be acted over. In anticipation of such an event, Washington prepared to assault the town at the same time on the opposite side. For this service four thousand chosen men were set apart, and put in two divisions, one under General Sullivan, the other under General Greene, the whole being commanded by General Putnam. At a concerted signal they were to embark in boats, near the mouth of Charles River, attended by three floating batteries, under the fire of which they were to land in the town, and then act according to circumstances and instructions given by signals.

In the event there was no occasion for this attempt. It was not the policy of General Howe, nor consistent with his designs, to bring on a general engagement. He remained in Boston at his own discretion, it having been recommended to him by the ministry, several months before, to leave that place and repair to a southern port. Although he thought there were solid reasons against such a step, yet he did not choose to sacrifice his men, or run hazards, while so much rested on his responsibility. But when the admiral told him, that, unless the Americans were dislodged from Dorchester Heights, the King's ships could not remain in the harbour, he consented to detach three thousand men under Lord Percy for that purpose. The execution of the plan was defeated by a furious storm, which came on while the troops were embarking. The next day he determined to suspend offensive operations and to evacuate the town.

Washington had regarded this result as probable, and,

having no other motive for tempting General Howe to an engagement, than that of forcing him from the town, it was of course accordant with his principles and his wishes, that it should be done without bloodshed. His only aim, therefore, was to keep his posts strongly guarded, and his troops ready for action. Humanity and policy required also, that the town should be saved, if possible, from the ravage and destruction to which it must inevitably be exposed by an assault. Apprehending such an issue, after the Americans had planted themselves on Dorchester Heights, the inhabitants obtained from General Howe a declaration, that the town should not be destroyed, unless the King's troops were molested during their embarkation. An informal message to this effect was forwarded to Washington by the selectmen of the town; but he declined taking any notice of it, as not being authenticated by the name of the British commander. This proceeding was enough, however, to produce a tacit understanding between the parties, and the troops were allowed to depart without molestation. The town was left uninjured, except from the natural effects of having been so long occupied by soldiers, and the disorders attending so hasty an embarkation.

Boston was evacuated on the 17th of March, and several regiments commanded by General Putnam immediately entered it, and took possession of all the posts. It was found to be very strongly fortified. General Washington himself went into the town the next day, and was received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants. The legislature of Massachusetts took an early opportunity to present to him an address, expressive of their respect and attachment, their obligations for the great services he had rendered to his country, and their thanks for the deference he had invariably shown

Copy of a Gold Medal presented to General Washington by Congress on the Evacuation of Boston.

1. Arms of the Washington Family obtained from the Heralds College London.
2. Copy of General Washingtons Seal.

to the civil authorities. In reply he reciprocated their kind sentiments, congratulated them on the recent event, particularly as having been effected without the effusion of blood, but intimated, as to his own agency, that he had only done his duty, "wishing for no other reward, than that arising from a conscientious discharge of his important trust, and that his services might contribute to the establishment of freedom and peace, upon a permanent foundation, and merit the applause of his countrymen and every virtuous citizen."

Congress were not backward in rendering a due tribute to their Commander-in-chief. A unanimous vote of thanks was conveyed to him in a letter, drafted by a committee expressly appointed for the occasion, and signed by the President. A gold medal was ordered to be struck, commemorative of the evacuation of Boston, and as an honorable token of the public approbation of his conduct.

General Howe, with his army in seventy-eight ships and transports, sailed for Halifax. His effective force, including seamen, was about eleven thousand men. More than a thousand refugees left Boston in his fleet. By the adjutant's return, Washington's army, officers and men, amounted to twenty-one thousand eight hundred, of which number two thousand seven hundred were sick. The enlistments had been more successful latterly than at first. There were also six thousand eight hundred militia, most of whom had been suddenly called in from the neighbouring towns, to strengthen the lines in case of an attack on Boston.

It was reported, while the troops were preparing to embark, that they were destined for Halifax; but, suspecting this to be given out by the British commander as a feint to cover his real designs, and anxious for the

safety of New York, General Washington called for two thousand militia from Connecticut, and one thousand from New Jersey, to be thrown into that city without delay, which, added to the force already on the spot, might oppose the landing of the enemy till his own troops could arrive. The day after the evacuation, he ordered five Continental regiments, the battalion of riflemen, and two companies of artillery to march under General Heath. They went by land to Norwich, and thence by water through the Sound. The whole army, except five regiments detained for the defence of Boston under General Ward, followed in divisions, pursuing the same route. Putnam was sent forward to take the command in New York; Lee having been appointed by Congress to the southern department, and having hastened thither to watch the motions of General Clinton, who it was expected would make a descent somewhere on the coast at the south.

The British fleet lingered ten days in Nantasket Road, and Washington could not venture to leave his post, nor indeed to order away all his army, till assured that the fleet had actually put to sea. When this was ascertained, he set off for New York, passing through Providence, Norwich, and New London. At Norwich he had an interview with Governor Trumbull, who came there to meet him. On the 13th of April he arrived in New York. The divisions of the army, moving more slowly, did not unite in that place till some days later.

It was soon evident, that General Howe had gone in another direction, and that no immediate danger was to be apprehended from the enemy. The British armed vessels, hitherto remaining in the harbour, retired down to Sandy Hook, twenty-five miles from the city. The militia from Connecticut and New Jersey were discharged. The first task of the Commander was to

inspect the works begun by General Lee, direct their completion, and prepare other means of defence.

Affairs in Canada became every day more gloomy. The unfortunate repulse at Quebec, the want of an efficient commander after the fall of the gallant Montgomery, the severity of the winter, and the deficiency of supplies, all contributed to dishearten the troops, diminish their strength, destroy discipline, and engender confusion. Reinforcements from England would certainly be in the River St. Lawrence, as soon as the ice should break up. Congress, justly fearing the consequences, requested Washington first to detach four regiments, and then six others, to act in the northern department. He approved this measure from the conviction, that the public interests would thus be served; since no support could be obtained in Canada, except what was sent there, whereas at New York the militia on an emergency might be summoned from the surrounding country.

The presence of General Washington being thought essential at Congress, for the purpose of advising with them on the state of affairs, and concerting arrangements for the campaign, he repaired to Philadelphia, leaving the army in the command of General Putnam. On his way he examined Staten Island, and the opposite Jersey shore, with the view of determining the proper places for works of defence. He was absent fifteen days. He seems to have been disappointed and concerned at discovering divisions in Congress, which portended no good to the common cause. It was known, from the late proceedings in Parliament, that commissioners were coming out with proposals of accommodation. In a letter to his brother, written at Philadelphia, he speaks as follows.

"I am very glad to find, that the Virginia Convention have passed so noble a vote, and with so much una-

nimity. Things have come to such a pass now, as to convince us, that we have nothing more to expect from the justice of Great Britain; also, that she is capable of the most delusive arts; for I am satisfied, that no commissioners were ever designed, except Hessians and other foreigners; and that the idea was only to deceive and throw us off our guard. The first has been too effectually accomplished, as many members of Congress, in short, the representation of whole provinces, are still feeding themselves upon the dainty food of reconciliation; and, though they will not allow, that the expectation of it has any influence upon their judgment with respect to their preparations for defence, it is but too obvious, that it has an operation upon every part of their conduct, and is a clog to their proceedings. It is not in the nature of things to be otherwise; for no man, that entertains a hope of seeing this dispute speedily and equitably adjusted by commissioners, will go to the same expense and run the same hazards to prepare for the worst event, as he who believes, that he must conquer, or submit to unconditional terms, and the concomitants, such as confiscation, hanging, and the like."

The allusion, at the beginning of this paragraph, is to a recent vote of the Virginia Convention, recommending to Congress to declare the United Colonies free and independent States. The opinion, that it was time for this decisive step to be taken, had been firmly rooted in the mind of Washington ever since he first saw the King's speech at the opening of Parliament, and understood from it the temper with which the British government was determined, at all events, to push its claims upon the colonies. From that moment his last hope of reconciliation vanished. He was convinced, that submission on terms too humiliating to be admitted, or a hard struggle, was the only alternative. From

that moment, therefore, he believed the Colonies ought to stand on the broad ground of independence. They could lose nothing by assuming such a position; they had been driven to it by their adversaries; whether from weak counsels, obstinacy, or wilful oppression, it was useless to inquire; and, if they must yield at last, it was better to fall nobly contending for freedom and justice, than to sink back into servitude, branded with the reproach of degrading concessions. Such being his sentiments, he was rejoiced at the spirit manifested in so powerful a colony as Virginia, setting an example which others were ready to follow, and leading to a union, which would fix the thoughts and hearts of the people on a single object, encourage the desponding, strengthen the military arm, and give a new impulse to the whole country.

Notwithstanding the hesitancy of some of the members of Congress, there was still a large majority for vigorous action; and, while he was there, they resolved to reinforce the army at New York with thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, drawn from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey; and a flying camp of ten thousand more, from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware.

On his return to New York, he lost no time in making preparations to receive the enemy, whose fleet was now expected soon to approach the coast. Besides the burden of his command, he was harassed with other difficulties. Long Island, Staten Island, many parts of the interior, and even the city itself, swarmed with disaffected persons, or Tories, who were plotting clandestine and dangerous schemes. Governor Tryon, the centre of motion to this fraternity, continued on board a vessel at the Hook, and had his emissaries abroad in every direction. The Provincial Congress, either distrustful

of its powers, or too much contaminated with the leaven of disaffection in some of its members, was tardy to propose, and more tardy to execute, any plans for eradicating the mischief. Washington expostulated, reasoned, urged, till at length a secret committee was appointed to take up and examine suspected persons.

This was a wide stretch of power, defensible only from the necessity of the case. A covert enemy is the worst of all, as he forfeits honor, and betrays friendship. That he is abetting what he thinks a good cause, is a poor plea for such treachery. Spies in all countries are punished with death. An enemy in disguise is a spy. Difference of opinion is not criminal, and there were doubtless many innocent Tories, who were loyalists in faith, but remained quiet. Yet it is a question, how long such persons can be allowed to stand neuter in times of revolution. They may go away; but, while their lives and property are protected by the actual government, they owe allegiance to it, and are bound to render positive service for its support. Such was the condition of the Tories. They were either criminal as enemies, tolerated as neutrals, or obliged to act as friends. At the beginning of the contest, the first class was much the most numerous, and there can be no controversy as to the kind of treatment demanded in their case.

Aware of the delicacy of this subject, Congress early passed a resolution, by which the power of apprehending Tories was put into the hands of the civil authority of each colony. This was a wise and politic regulation. Much abuse and injustice might have followed, if the Continental officers had been permitted to arrest persons upon suspicion; whereas the local civil authorities, with a full knowledge of characters and circumstances, might proceed with proper discrimination, and avoid confound-

ing the innocent with the guilty. That there might not be a want of power to execute this business effectually, the conventions, assemblies, and committees were authorized to employ a military force from the Continental army, which, in such cases, was bound to act under their orders. Many Tories were apprehended in New York and on Long Island; some were imprisoned, others disarmed. A deep plot, originating with Governor Tryon, was defeated by a timely and fortunate discovery. His agents were found enlisting men in the American camp, and enticing them with rewards. The infection spread to a considerable extent, and even reached the General's guard, some of whom enlisted. A soldier of the guard was proved guilty by a court-martial, and executed. It was a part of the plot to seize General Washington and convey him to the enemy.

On the 28th of June, a part of the British fleet from Halifax arrived at the Hook. The remainder followed within a week, and General Howe established his head-quarters at Staten Island. An immediate attack was expected; but such was not the purpose of General Howe. A fleet from England was on its way to join him, under the command of his brother, Lord Howe, the bearer of proposals from the ministry for an accommodation, the effect of which was to be tried before hostilities should be renewed.

Whilst the enemy was thus gathering strength at the door of New York, and in sight of the American troops, General Washington received from Congress the *Declaration of Independence.* At six o'clock in the evening, the regiments were paraded, and the *Declaration* was read aloud in the hearing of them all. It was greeted with the most hearty demonstrations of joy and applause. "The General hopes," said the orders of the

day, "that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing, that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms, and that he is now in the service of a state possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest honors of a free country." The United Colonies of North America were declared to be *Free and Independent States*, and from that day the word *colonies* is not known in their history.

As the Americans had no armed vessels in the harbour, General Howe ventured upon the experiment of sending two ships, one of forty and the other of twenty guns, with three tenders, up Hudson's River. Taking advantage of a brisk and favorable breeze, they passed the batteries at New York and Paulus Hook without being checked, or apparently injured, the men on the decks being protected by ramparts of sand-bags. The vessels ascended to a part of the river, called Tappan Sea, where the breadth of the water secured them against molestation from the land. General George Clinton then had command of the New York militia. He called out three regiments, and stationed them at different points on the banks of the river, particularly in the Highlands, to defend those passes and prevent the enemy from penetrating beyond them. But in reality the British general's only objects were, to cut off the communication by water between Washington's army and Canada, and between the city and country, thereby obstructing supplies; to give countenance to the Tories; and to take soundings in the river. The vessels were absent from the fleet five weeks, during which time one of the tenders was burnt by a fire-ship sent among them by a party of Americans.

Lord Howe joined his brother at Staten Island before the middle of July. While at sea, he had written a circular letter to the late royal governors in the colonies, presuming them to be still in power, accompanied by a Declaration setting forth his authority as commissioner from the King, and the terms proposed for a reconciliation. These papers were put on shore by a flag at Amboy, whence they came to the hands of General Washington, who enclosed them to the President of Congress. The terms amounted to nothing more than a promise of pardon and favor to those, who should return to their allegiance and assist in restoring public tranquillity. The papers were ordered to be published by Congress, that the people might know, as stated in the order, what they had to expect from the court of Great Britain, and "be convinced that the valor alone of their country was to save its liberties." Lord Howe's arrival at so late a day, being after the declaration of independence, was regarded by him as a circumstance unfavorable to the success of his mission; but the truth is, the proposition he brought out would not at any time have been listened to, as affording a reasonable ground of reconciliation. It left untouched all the original causes of complaint. To suppose the ministry had any other hope of this measure, than what was derived from the prowess of their formidable army and fleet, would be a severe reflection upon their common intelligence and wisdom. The Americans believed it to be an attempt to amuse, deceive, and disunite them; and, by a natural reaction, it tended to increase their efforts and bind them more closely together.

The day before the above papers were landed at Amboy, Lord Howe despatched a letter to General Washington by a flag, which was detained in the harbour by the guard-boats, till the General's orders should

be known. He had previously determined to decline receiving any letter from the British commanders, not directed to him in his public character. Colonel Reed, adjutant-general of the army, went down to meet the flag, with instructions to that effect. The officer, who had charge of the flag, showed him a letter directed "*To George Washington, Esq.*", which he said was from Lord Howe. It was, of course, declined. The officer expressed regret, said the letter was important, and rather of a civil than military nature, and at last inquired in what manner Mr. Washington chose to be addressed. Colonel Reed replied, that his station was well known, and that no doubts could properly exist on that point. They separated, and the flag returned with the letter to the fleet. In mentioning this incident to Congress, Washington said, "I would not upon any occasion sacrifice essentials to punctilio; but in this instance, the opinion of others concurring with my own, I deemed it a duty to my country and my appointment, to insist upon that respect, which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waved." The course he had taken was highly approved by Congress, and a resolve was passed, that in future no letters should be received from the enemy, by commanders in the American army, which should not be directed to them in the characters they sustained.

As occasional intercourse between the chiefs of the two armies was necessary, for the purpose of treating about the exchange of prisoners and other matters, General Howe wrote to Washington a few days afterwards, repeating the same superscription. This letter was likewise refused. He then sent Colonel Paterson, adjutant-general of the British army, who was admitted to an interview with the American commander, and produced a letter directed "*To George Washington,*

Esq. &c. &c. &c." Colonel Paterson used the title of "Excellency" in addressing him, and said, "that General Howe much regretted the difficulties, which had arisen respecting the address of the letter to General Washington; that it was deemed consistent with propriety, and founded upon precedents of the like nature by ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, when disputes or difficulties of rank had arisen; that Lord Howe and General Howe did not mean to derogate from the respect or rank of General Washington; and that they held his person and character in the highest esteem." Washington replied, "that a letter directed to a person in a public character should have some description or indication of it, otherwise it would appear a mere private letter; and that he should absolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station." After a good deal of conversation on this subject, and also on the particulars supposed to be contained in the letter, Colonel Paterson was introduced to several of the general officers of the American army, and then took his leave. In giving an account of this conference to the ministry, General Howe observed, "The interview was more polite than interesting; however, it induced me to change my superscription for the attainment of an end so desirable; and in this view I flatter myself it will not be disapproved." From that time all letters addressed by the British commanders to General Washington bore his proper titles.*

* On the 30th of July, Colonel Palfrey, paymaster-general of the army, went on board Lord Howe's ship, with another gentleman, to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, who had been taken at sea in a vessel called the *Yankee Hero*. In a letter to the President of Congress, Colonel Palfrey said;

"We were treated with the utmost politeness and civility by Lord Howe. He spoke with the highest respect of General Washington, and lamented the nice distinctions, which, he said, prevented his addressing

General Howe remained two months at Staten Island, waiting for reinforcements, before he commenced the operations of the campaign. This period was employed by Washington in strengthening his works on New York Island. A fort was begun at the north part of the island, on a hill not far from the east bank of the Hudson, which was called Fort Washington; and another nearly opposite to it on the other side of the river, in New Jersey, at first called Fort Constitution, and afterwards Fort Lee. Between these forts the river's channel was obstructed by hulks of vessels and chevaux-de-frise. Batteries were erected on the margins of the North and East Rivers, redoubts were thrown up at different places, the grounds near Kingsbridge were fortified, and the whole island was put in

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him by letter; and said he wished to convey his sentiments to him in any mode of address, that might prevent his being blamed by the King, his master. In all his discourse he called him *General* Washington, and frequently said, the *States* of America. He said the Congress had greatly hurt his feelings by reminding him, in one of their publications, of the esteem and respect they had for the memory of his brother, and drawing by manifest inference a contrast between the survivors and the deceased; that no man could feel more sensibly the respect shown to their family, than his Lordship and the General; that they should always esteem America for it, and particularly Massachusetts Bay; and added, 'I hope America will one day or other be convinced, that, in our affection for that country, we also are Howes.' His Lordship, when speaking of his brother, was greatly affected, and I could perceive a tear standing in his eye.

"He hinted an inclination, that I should take the letter to General Washington, with the addition of '*&c. &c. &c.*,' which he said would imply every thing that we could desire, and at the same time save him from censure. I gave him to understand, that, as it had been before refused under the same circumstances, I could not with propriety receive it, especially as it was against the express direction of Congress. When we parted, he desired his compliments to General Washington."

The brother, here alluded to, was the gallant Lord Howe, who was killed near Ticonderoga in the year 1758. The province of Massachusetts Bay appropriated money for erecting a monument to him in Westminster Abbey.

as good a state of defence, as the time and circumstances would permit. Plans were concerted for attacking the enemy on Staten Island by parties from the Jersey shore; but the want of boats and other obstacles rendered these plans abortive. A general attack was thought unadvisable, as putting too much at hazard, while the enemy occupied an island protected on every side by their fleet.

By the middle of August the British reinforcements had all arrived. General Howe's strength then consisted of his own army from Halifax, additional troops from England, Hessians, several regiments from the West Indies and the Floridas, the detachments on board Sir Peter Parker's squadron, under Clinton and Cornwallis, returned from their signal repulse at Sullivan's Island, and such men as Lord Dunmore had brought with him from Virginia. The aggregate of these forces was probably somewhat above twenty-four thousand men. It has been estimated as high as thirty thousand. The fleet was numerous and well equipped; and the whole armament, for both the land and sea service, was supplied with all kinds of military stores.

To meet these formidable preparations, General Washington's army, according to a return made out on the 3d of August, including officers and men of every description, amounted nominally to twenty thousand five hundred and thirty-seven. Of these, three thousand six hundred and sixty-eight were sick, ninety-seven absent on furlough, and two thousand nine hundred and forty-six on command, leaving only eleven thousand one hundred, besides officers, present fit for duty. Many of these were militia, suddenly called from their homes, unaccustomed to arms and to the exposure and hardships of a camp. The season of the year and the want of tents occasioned much sickness.

Even this small army was greatly divided, being stationed at many points, from Brooklyn to Kingsbridge, over a space of more than fifteen miles in extent.

At this critical time there began to be collisions in the army, threatening serious consequences. Collected from various parts of the country, and coming together with local partialities, the officers yielded to a spirit of jealousy, and even gave vent to disrespectful language, which produced irritation and discord. The example was naturally followed by the soldiers. To check at the outset a symptom so dangerous, the Commander-in-chief resorted to persuasion and reprimand. In the orders of the day he said; "The General most earnestly entreats the officers and soldiers to consider the consequences; that they can no way assist our enemies more effectually, than by making divisions among ourselves; that the honor and success of the army, and the safety of our bleeding country, depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other; that the provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sunk in the name of an American. To make this name honorable, and to preserve the liberty of our country, ought to be our only emulation; and he will be the best soldier and the best patriot, who contributes most to this glorious work, whatever his station, or from whatever part of the continent he may come. Let all distinctions of nations, countries, and provinces, therefore, be lost in the generous contest, who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good humor to each other. If there be any officers or soldiers so lost to virtue and a love of their country, as to continue in such practices after this order, the General assures them, and is authorized by Congress to declare to the whole army, that such persons shall be severely punished and dismissed from the service with

disgrace." This timely and energetic appeal did not pass unheeded, but it was long before entire harmony subsisted among all parts of the army. Nor indeed was it ever so firmly established, that caution was not necessary to keep the troops of each State as much as possible together, and under general officers from the State to which they belonged.

An attack from the enemy was daily expected. As the waters around New York were accessible to the fleet and small craft, General Howe could land at such places as he chose, and every point was therefore to be guarded. Meantime the American army gradually gained strength. The Convention of New York called out the militia of four counties. About three thousand assembled, and formed an encampment under General George Clinton near Kingsbridge. Three thousand came from Connecticut. Two battalions of riflemen from Pennsylvania, one from Maryland, and a regiment from Delaware, likewise joined the army.

Intelligence at length arrived, that the British troops were landing on Long Island, between the Narrows and Sandy Hook. It was then apparent, that they designed to approach the city across Long Island, and not to attempt an immediate bombardment. Anticipating this movement, Washington had at an early day posted a body of troops at Brooklyn, on a part of Long Island opposite to the city of New York, and separated from it by the East River. This position was well secured on the land side by a chain of intrenchments and redoubts, running along the high grounds from Wallabout Bay to Gowan's Cove; these works having been constructed under the eye of General Greene. It was defended on the water side by batteries at Red Hook, Governor's Island, and other points. Between Brooklyn, and the place where the enemy landed, was a range

of hills covered with a thick wood, and crossed by three roads. The precaution had been taken to throw up breast-works at the principal passes on these hills, where three or four regiments were stationed. General Greene at first commanded on Long Island, but falling ill with a fever, he was succeeded for a short time by General Sullivan. The command at length devolved on General Putnam.

The British army occupied the plain on the other side of the hills, extending in a line from the Narrows to Flatbush. General Grant commanded the left wing near the coast, De Heister the centre, composed of Hessians, and Clinton the right. About three o'clock in the morning, on the 27th of August, a report was brought to the camp, that the British were in motion on the road leading along the coast from the Narrows. A detachment under Lord Stirling was immediately ordered out to meet them. General Sullivan was sent to the heights above Flatbush, on the middle road. One regiment only was at this post; and a little to the north of it, on the Bedford road, were two others. Meantime General Clinton, with Earl Percy and Cornwallis, led the right wing of the British army by a circuit into the Jamaica road, which was not guarded, and gained the rear of the Americans under Sullivan. Before this was accomplished, reinforcements had been sent from the camp to support both Sullivan and Stirling. The attack was begun at an early hour by Grant and De Heister, but was kept up with little spirit, as they were not to advance till Clinton should reach the left flank or rear of the Americans. As soon as it was known, by the sound of the guns, that this was effected, they pushed vigorously forward, and the action became general and warm in every part. The troops under Lord Stirling, consisting of the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware

regiments, fought with signal bravery, contesting every foot of ground against a greatly superior force, till Lord Cornwallis, with a detachment from Clinton's division, came upon their rear, brought them between two fires, and compelled them to retreat within their lines across a creek and marsh near Gowan's Cove. General Sullivan, with the regiments on the heights above Flatbush, being attacked by De Heister on one side and Clinton on the other, after making an obstinate resistance for three hours, was obliged to surrender. As the grounds were broken and covered with wood, the action in this part was conducted by a succession of skirmishes, and many of the troops forced their way through the enemy and returned to Brooklyn. After the battle was over, General Howe encamped his army in front of the American lines, intending to carry them by regular approaches with the coöperation of his fleet.

The issue of the day was disastrous to the Americans. Their loss was between eleven and twelve hundred men, more than a thousand of whom were captured. General Sullivan and Lord Stirling were among the prisoners. The whole number engaged was about five thousand, who were opposed by at least fifteen thousand of the enemy, well provided with artillery. That so many escaped, was owing to the nature of the ground, and to the action having been fought in detached parties, some of which were several miles distant from each other. The courage and good conduct of the troops, particularly those under Lord Stirling, were universally acknowledged.

During the action General Washington crossed over to Brooklyn. He is said to have witnessed the rout and slaughter of his troops with the keenest anguish, as it was impossible to detach others to their relief without exposing the camp to imminent danger. A heavy rain

the next day kept the main body of the enemy in their tents. Light parties came out, and there was occasional skirmishing near the lines. A strong head wind prevented the ships from ascending the harbour. The loss sustained in the late action, the injury which the arms and ammunition had received by the rains, the great force of the enemy, and the probability that the ships would take advantage of the first favorable wind, sail into the East River, and thus cut off the only channel of retreat, rendered it obvious, that any further attempt to maintain the post at Brooklyn would be hazardous in the extreme. It was known, also, that some of the British ships had passed round Long Island, and were now in Flushing Bay; and there were indications, that it was General Howe's design to transport a part of his army across the Sound, and form an encampment above Kingsbridge. This would put New York Island in jeopardy, and the forces at Brooklyn would be essential for its defence. A council of war was called. No time was lost in deliberation. It was resolved to withdraw the troops from Long Island. Boats were collected and other preparations were made without delay. On the morning of the 30th, the whole army, amounting to nine thousand men, the military stores, nearly all the provisions, and the artillery, except a few heavy cannon, were safely landed in New York. With such secrecy, silence, and order, was every thing conducted, that the last boat was crossing the river, before the retreat was discovered by the enemy, although parties were stationed within six hundred yards of the lines.

This retreat, in its plan, execution, and success, has been regarded as one of the most remarkable military events in history, and as reflecting the highest credit on the talents and skill of the commander. So intense was the anxiety of Washington, so unceasing his exer-

tions, that for forty-eight hours he did not close his eyes, and rarely dismounted from his horse.

There have been various strictures on this battle, both in regard to the action itself, and to the policy of Washington in attempting to oppose the enemy at all on Long Island. The strange oversight in leaving the Jamaica road unguarded, and the neglect in procuring early and constant intelligence of the movements of the British army, were the immediate causes of the deplorable events of the day. These faults, however, such as they were, rested with the officers on the Island. General Washington had given express instructions, that the strictest vigilance should be observed in every part of the outer lines. It was unfortunate that the illness of General Greene deprived the commander on the spot of his counsel, he being thoroughly acquainted with the grounds and the roads; whereas General Putnam took the command only four days before the action, and of course had not been able from personal inspection to gain the requisite knowledge. The want of vedettes was another unfortunate circumstance. To communicate intelligence with sufficient celerity over so wide a space, without light-horse, was impracticable. At this time, however, not a single company of cavalry had been attached to the American army.

As to the other point, the propriety of maintaining a stand on Long Island, it must be considered, that the enemy was to be met somewhere, that the works at Brooklyn offered a fair prospect of defence for a considerable time at least, that the abandonment of the Island would open a free passage to General Howe to the very borders of New York, separated only by the East River, and that to retreat, without even a show of resistance, as the first operation of the campaign, would be unsatisfactory to Congress, the country, and the army.

Besides, it was not the purpose of Washington to entice the enemy to a general action, or allow himself to be drawn into one, if it could possibly be avoided. Such an experiment, with his raw troops and militia, against a force superior in numbers, and still more so in experience and discipline, aided by a powerful fleet, he well knew would be the height of rashness, and might end in the total ruin of the American cause. Wisdom and prudence dictated a different course. To wear away the campaign by keeping the enemy employed in small encounters, dividing their attention, and interposing obstacles to their progress, was all that could be done or undertaken with any reasonable hope of success. Such a system would diminish the resources of the enemy, habituate his own soldiers to the practices of war, give the country an opportunity to gather strength by union and time, and thus prepare the way for more decisive efforts at a future day. This policy, so sound in its principles, and so triumphant in its final results, was not relished by the short-sighted multitude, eager to hear of battles and victories, and ready to ascribe the disappointment of their wishes to the fault of the General. The murmurs and complaints of such persons, though so loudly and widely expressed that they might be taken as denoting the public sentiment, were borne with fortitude by Washington; nor did he suffer himself to be turned by them from what he believed to be his duty in watching over the vital interests of his country.

The recent defeat produced a most unfavorable impression upon the army, which is described as follows in a letter from General Washington to the President of Congress.

"Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their

minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances, almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies, at a time. This circumstance, of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but, when their example has infected another part of the army, when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well-doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of,—our condition becomes still more alarming; and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops.

"All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once in my letters took the liberty of mentioning to Congress, that no dependence could be put in a militia or other troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations heretofore have prescribed. I am persuaded, and as fully convinced as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded if not entirely lost, if their defence is left to any but a permanent standing army; I mean, one to exist during the war. Nor would the expense, incident to the support of such a body of troops, as would be competent to almost every exigency, far exceed that, which is daily incurred by calling in succour and new enlistments, which, when effected, are

not attended with any good consequences. Men, who have been free and subject to no control, cannot be reduced to order in an instant; and the privileges and exemptions, which they claim and will have, influence the conduct of others; and the aid derived from them is nearly counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity, and confusion they occasion."

He added, that, by the last returns, the number of troops fit for duty was less than twenty thousand, and that many had since deserted. One thousand men were immediately ordered to join him from the Flying Camp, then in New Jersey under General Mercer. A bounty of ten dollars had been offered to each soldier, that would enlist into the Continental service; but this produced little effect, as the bounty to the militia was in some instances double that amount. "Till of late," he observes, "I had no doubt of defending New York; nor should I have yet, if the men would do their duty; but this I despair of." In such a situation, a more gloomy or discouraging prospect could hardly be imagined. No trials, however, in a good cause, could depress the mind, or unnerve the energy of Washington.

CHAPTER IX.

New York evacuated, and the British take Possession of the City. — The American Army posted at Haerlem Heights and Fort Washington. — Situation and Prospects of the Army. — Its new Organization. — The British land in Westchester County, and march into the Country. — Washington advances to White Plains and forms an Encampment. — Battle of Chatterton's Hill. — Part of the American Army crosses the Hudson. — Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee. — General Washington retreats through New Jersey, and crosses the Delaware at Trenton. — Conduct and Character of General Lee. — Reduced State of the Army. — Reinforced by Troops from Ticonderoga. — General Washington invested with extraordinary Powers by Congress. — His Manner of using them. — He recrosses the Delaware. — Battle of Trenton. — Battle of Princeton. — The Army goes into Winter Quarters at Morristown. — Remarks on these Events.

When General Howe had taken possession of Long Island, his plans began to be unfolded. The fleet came into the harbour, and an armed vessel passed up the East River; but there were no indications of an attack on the city. It was obvious, indeed, that he designed to take New York by encompassing it on the land side, and to refrain from a cannonade and bombardment, by which the city might be injured, and rendered less fit for the accommodation of his troops in the winter, and less valuable as a place to be held during the war. Such being clearly the aim of the British commander, the attention of Washington was next drawn to the best mode of evacuating the city.

As a preparatory step he removed beyond Kingsbridge the stores and baggage least wanted. In a council of general officers there was a difference of opinion as to a total evacuation. All agreed, that the town would not be tenable, if it should be bombarded; and it was manifest, that this might be done at any

moment. Some were for destroying the city at once, and leaving it a waste, from which the enemy could derive no benefit. As an argument for this procedure, it was said two thirds of the property belonged to Tories. Others thought the position should be maintained at every hazard, till the army was absolutely driven out. A middle course was taken. It was resolved so to dispose the troops, as to be prepared to resist any attack on the upper parts of the Island, and retreat with the remainder whenever it should become necessary. Nine thousand men were to be stationed at Mount Washington, Kingsbridge, and the smaller posts in the vicinity of those places, five thousand to continue in the city, and the residue to occupy the intermediate space, ready to support either of these divisions. The sick, amounting to one quarter of the whole army, were to be removed to the Jersey side of the Hudson.

While these arrangements were in progress, the enemy were not idle, although probably less active than they would otherwise have been, in consequence of an interview between Lord Howe and a committee of Congress at Staten Island, solicited by the former in the hope of suggesting some plan of reconciliation conformable to the terms of his commission. This attempt proving abortive, the operations commenced in earnest. Four ships sailed into the East River, and anchored about a mile above the city. The next day six others followed. Parties of British troops landed on Buchanan's Island, and a cannonade was opened upon a battery at Horen's Hook.

On the 15th of September in the morning, three men-of-war ascended Hudson's River as high as Bloomingdale, with the view of dividing the attention of the Americans, by making a feint on that side. At the same time General Howe embarked a strong division

of his army, commanded by General Clinton, consisting of British and Hessians, at the head of Newtown Bay on Long Island. About eleven o'clock, these troops, having come into the East River, began to land at Kip's Bay, under the fire of two forty-gun ships and three frigates. Batteries had been erected there; but the men were driven from them by the firing from the ships. General Washington was now at Haerlem, whither he had gone the night before, on account of the movements of the enemy at Montresor's Island; and, hearing the sound of the guns, he hastened with all despatch to the place of landing. To his inexpressible chagrin he found the troops, that had been posted on the lines, precipitately retreating without firing a shot, although not more than sixty or seventy of the enemy were in sight; and also two brigades, which had been ordered to their support, flying in the greatest confusion, in spite of every effort of their officers to rally and form them. It is said, that no incident of the war caused Washington to be so much excited, as he appeared on this occasion. He rode hastily towards the enemy, till his own person was in danger, hoping to encourage the men by his example, or rouse them to a sense of shame for their cowardice. But all his exertions were fruitless. The troops, being eight regiments in all, fled to the main body on Haerlem Plains.

The division in New York, under the command of General Putnam retreated with difficulty, and with considerable loss. Fifteen men only were known to be killed, but more than three hundred were taken prisoners. Nearly all the heavy cannon, and a considerable quantity of baggage, stores, and provisions, were left behind. A prompt and judicious manœuvre on the part of the British general, by stretching his army across the island from Kip's Bay to Hudson's River, would have cut off

the rear of the retreating division. But this was not effected, nor were the Americans pursued with much vigor in their retreat. General Washington drew all his forces together within the lines on the Heights of Haerlem, where they encamped the same night. Headquarters were fixed at Morris's House, a mile and a half south from Mount Washington, on which was situate the fort of that name. After sending a small detachment to take possession of the city, General Howe encamped with the larger part of his army near the American lines, his right resting on the East River, and his left on the Hudson, supported at each extreme by the ships in those rivers.

The next morning, Colonel Knowlton went out with a party of rangers, volunteers from the New England regiments, and advanced through the woods towards the enemy's lines. When he was discovered, General Howe detached two battalions of light infantry, and a regiment of Highlanders, to meet and drive him back. To these were afterwards added a battalion of Hessian grenadiers, a company of chasseurs, and two field-pieces. On the appearance of these troops in the open grounds between the two camps, General Washington rode to the out-posts, that he might be at hand to make such arrangements as circumstances should require. He had hardly reached the lines, when he heard a firing, which proceeded from an encounter between Colonel Knowlton and one of the British parties. The rangers returned, and said that the body of the enemy, as they thought, amounted to three hundred men. Knowlton was immediately reinforced by three companies from Weedon's Virginia regiment under Major Leitch, and ordered to gain their rear, while their attention was diverted by making a disposition to attack them in front. The plan was successful. As the party ap-

proached in front, the enemy rushed down the hill to take advantage of a fence and bushes, and commenced firing, but at too great a distance to be effectual. Meantime Colonel Knowlton attacked on the other side, though rather in the flank than rear, and advanced with spirit. A sharp conflict ensued. Major Leitch, who led the attack, was carried off mortally wounded, three balls having been shot through his body; and in a short time Colonel Knowlton fell. The action was resolutely kept up by the remaining officers and the men, till other detachments arrived to their support; and they charged the enemy with such firmness and intrepidity, as to drive them from the wood to the plain, when General Washington ordered a retreat, apprehending, what proved to be the case, that a large body was on its way from the British camp. The engagement, from first to last, continued four hours, although the sharp fighting was of short duration. General Howe reported eight officers and seventy privates wounded, and fourteen men killed. The American loss was fifteen killed, and about forty-five wounded.

Colonel Knowlton was a gallant and meritorious officer, and his death was much lamented. The events of the day were important, not so much on account of their magnitude, as of their influence on the army. The retreating, flying, and discomfitures which had happened since the British landed on Long Island, contributed greatly to dispirit the troops, and to destroy their confidence in themselves and in their officers. The good conduct and success of this day were a proof, on the one hand, that the enemy was not invincible, and on the other, that the courage, so nobly exhibited at Lexington and Bunker's Hill the year before, still existed in the American ranks.

The lines were too formidable on Haerlem Heights to

tempt the British commander to try the experiment of an assault. His army lay inactive on the plains below more than three weeks. General Washington employed the time in strengthening his works, and preparing at all points for defence. His lines in front extended from Haerlem River to the Hudson, quite across the Island, which at this place is somewhat more than a mile wide. General Greene commanded on the Jersey side, with his head-quarters at Fort Lee; and General Heath at Kingsbridge, beyond which, on a hill towards the Hudson, a fort was erected, called Fort Independence.

General Howe was raised to the honor of knighthood by his sovereign, after the news of the battle of Long Island reached England. But his good fortune did not inspire him with confidence. Notwithstanding his superior force, the expectation of a speedy addition to it from Europe, and his successes hitherto in driving the Americans before him, he seems not to have looked forward with sanguine hopes to the issue of the campaign. In a letter to the ministry he said; "The enemy is too strongly posted to be attacked in front, and innumerable difficulties are in our way of turning him on either side, though his army is much dispirited from the late success of his Majesty's arms; yet have I not the smallest prospect of finishing the combat this campaign, nor until the rebels see preparations in the spring, that may preclude all thoughts of further resistance. To this end I would propose eight or ten line-of-battle ships to be with us in February, with a number of supernumerary seamen for manning boats, having fully experienced the want of them in every movement we have made. We must also have recruits from Europe, not finding the Americans disposed to serve with arms, notwithstanding the hopes held out to me upon my arrival in this port." This last point was a source of

great delusion to the British ministers almost to the end of the war. They flattered themselves with the belief, that a large part of their army might be recruited among the loyalists in America. Clothes and equipments were abundantly supplied for this purpose, and extravagant bounties were offered. The generals on the spot, being soon undeceived, remonstrated against so fallacious a dependence; but the ministers closed their ears to such counsel, and persevered. Plans were repeatedly formed by the generals, and approved by the cabinet, on the basis of a certain number of troops; but, when the time of execution came, the men sent from Europe fell far short of the number promised, and the commander was instructed to make up the deficiency with American recruits. If the inquiry were pursued, it would be found, that the ill success of the British arms, and the defeated expectations of the government, are often to be traced to this cause alone. Hence both Howe and Clinton, the principal commanders in America during the most active period of the war, became dissatisfied, requested their recall long before it was granted, and finally went home to receive the censures of their countrymen and the neglect of the court.

The subject, which now engaged the most anxious thoughts of Washington, was the situation and prospects of the army. We have seen that the establishment formed at Cambridge was to continue for one year, and the time of its dissolution was near at hand. He had often called the attention of Congress to this important subject, and pressed upon them the necessity of some radical alterations in the system hitherto pursued. By the experience of the past year all his first impressions had been confirmed, and all his fears realized, in regard to the mischievous policy of short enlistments, and of relying on militia to act against veteran troops. Dis-

obedience of orders, shameful desertions, running away from the enemy, plundering, and every kind of irregularity in the camp, had been the fatal consequences.

"To bring men to a proper degree of subordination," said he, "is not the work of a day, a month, or even a year; and, unhappily for us and the cause we are engaged in, the little discipline I have been laboring to establish in the army under my immediate command is in a manner done away, by having such a mixture of troops, as have been called together within these few months. Relaxed and unfit as our rules and regulations of war are for the government of an army, the militia (those properly so called, for of these we have two sorts, the six-months' men, and those sent in as a temporary aid,) do not think themselves subject to them, and therefore take liberties, which the soldier is punished for. This creates jealousy; jealousy begets dissatisfaction; and this by degrees ripens into mutiny, keeping the whole army in a confused and disordered state, rendering the time of those, who wish to see regularity and good order prevail, more unhappy than words can describe. Besides this, such repeated changes take place, that all arrangement is set at nought, and the constant fluctuation of things deranges every plan as fast as it is adopted."

At the close of the long and able letter to Congress, from which this extract is taken, his feelings under the trials he suffered, and in contemplating the future, are impressively described.

"There is no situation upon earth less enviable, or more distressing, than that person's, who is at the head of troops regardless of order and discipline, and unprovided with almost every necessary. In a word, the difficulties, which have for ever surrounded me since I have been in the service, and kept my mind constantly

upon the stretch; the wounds, which my feelings as an officer have received by a thousand things, that have happened contrary to my expectations and wishes; the effect of my own conduct, and present appearance of things, so little pleasing to myself, as to render it a matter of no surprise to me if I should stand capitally censured by Congress; added to a consciousness of my inability to govern an army composed of such discordant parts, and under such a variety of intricate and perplexing circumstances;—induce not only a belief, but a thorough conviction in my mind, that it will be impossible, unless there is a thorough change in our military system, for me to conduct matters in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the public, which is all the recompense I aim at, or ever wished for."

Moved by his representations and appeals, as well as by their own sense of the necessity of the case, Congress determined to re-organize the army, on a plan conformable in its essential features to the suggestions of the Commander-in-chief. Not that the jealousy of a standing army had subsided, but the declaration of independence had put the war upon a footing different from that, on which it was before supposed to stand; and they, who for a long time cherished a lingering hope of reconciliation, were at length convinced, that the struggle would not soon terminate, and that it must be met by all the means, which the wisdom, patriotism, and resources of the country could supply. As it was a contest of strength, a military force, coherent in its parts and durable in its character, was the first requisite. To the resolute and discerning this had been obvious from the moment the sword was drawn. The events of a year had impressed it on the minds of all.

The new army was to consist of eighty-eight battalions, apportioned in quotas to the several States

according to their ability. The largest quota was fifteen battalions, which number was assigned respectively to Virginia and Massachusetts. The men were to serve *during the war*, this great point being at last gained. To encourage enlistments, a bounty of twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land was offered to each non-commissioned officer and private; and lands in certain quantities and proportions were likewise promised to the commissioned officers. The business of enlisting the troops to fill up the quotas, and of providing them with arms and clothing, devolved upon the several States to which they belonged. The expense of clothing was to be deducted from the soldiers' pay. Colonels and all lower officers were to be appointed by the States, but commissioned by Congress. The rules for the government and discipline of the army were at the same time revised and greatly amended.

Thus matured, the plan was sent to the Commander-in-chief, and was soon followed by a committee from Congress, instructed to inquire into the state of the army. From this committee the views of Congress were more fully ascertained; but General Washington perceived defects in the scheme, which he feared would retard, if not defeat, its operation. The pay of the officers had not been increased; and he was persuaded, that officers of character could not be induced to retain their commissions on the old pay. The mode of appointing them was defective, it being left to the State governments, which would act slowly, without adequate knowledge, and often under influences not salutary to the interests of the army. The pay of the privates was also insufficient. Congress partially remedied these defects in conformity to his advice, by raising the officers' pay, giving a suit of clothes annually to each private, and requesting the States to send commissioners

to the army, with full powers to arrange with the Commander-in-chief the appointment of all the officers. With the jealousy of State sovereignty, and the fear of a standing army, this was all that could be obtained from the representatives of the States. And perhaps it was enough, considering their want of power to execute their resolves, and the necessity of being cautious to pass such only as the people would approve and obey. The above plan was modified before it went into effect, by allowing men to enlist for three years; these men not receiving the bounty in land. Hence the army from that time was composed of two kinds of troops, those engaged for the war, and those for three years. At length, also, the States being negligent and tardy in providing for the appointment of officers, Congress authorized General Washington to fill up the vacancies.

A circular letter was written by the President of Congress to the States, urging them to complete their quotas without delay. The proper steps were immediately taken; but an evil soon crept into the system, which produced much mischief throughout the war. To hasten enlistments, some of the States offered bounties in addition to those given by Congress; and in many cases the towns, to which quotas were assigned by the State governments, raised the bounties still higher, differing from each other in the amount. Again, when the militia were called out on a sudden emergency, it was usual to offer them extraordinary rewards for a short term of service. This practice was injurious on many accounts. It kept back men from enlisting by the hope of higher bounties; and, when they were brought together in the field, although the Continental pay was uniform, yet many were receiving more from incidental bounties, and in various proportions, which created

murmurings and jealousies between individuals, companies, and regiments. Nor was there the salutary check of interest to operate as a restraint upon the States. The war was a common charge, and, when money or credit could be applied to meet the present exigency, it was a small sacrifice to be bountiful in accumulating a debt, which the continent was pledged to pay. There could be no other remedy than a supreme power in Congress, which did not exist; and the evil was at all times a source of irregularities in the military arrangements, and of vexation to the Commander-in-chief.

The arduous duties of General Washington's immediate command were now increased by the task of organizing a new army, and holding conferences with commissioners from the States for the appointment of officers, in the midst of an active campaign, while the enemy were pressing upon him with a force vastly superior in discipline, at times superior in numbers, and abundantly supplied with provisions, clothing, tents, and all the munitions of war.

Sir William Howe was soon in motion. Having prepared his plans for gaining the rear of the American army, by which he hoped either to cut off its communication with the country, or bring on a general action, he first sent two ships, a frigate, and tenders up the Hudson. These vessels passed the batteries, and ran through the obstructions in the river, without receiving any apparent damage; and thus secured a free passage to the Highlands, thereby preventing any supplies from coming to the American army by water. This experiment having succeeded even better than he had expected, the British commander, on the 12th of October, embarked his troops in the East River on board flat-boats, sloops, and schooners, passed through Hell Gate into the Sound, and landed the same day at Frog's Point.

Two brigades of British troops, and one of Hessians, amounting to five thousand men, were left under Earl Percy at Haerlem to cover the city of New York. General Howe remained five days at Frog's Point, waiting, as he says, for stores, provisions, and three battalions from Staten Island; but, according to the American accounts, the strong defences, guarded by detachments from Washington's army, and the destruction of the causeway connecting the Point with the main land, discouraged him from attempting to march into the country at that place. He reëmbarked, landed again at Pell's Point, and advanced to the high grounds between East Chester and New Rochelle. Four days later he was joined by General Knyphausen with the second division of Hessians, and a regiment of Waldeckers, just arrived from Europe.

General Washington took measures to counteract these movements and the designs of them. He arranged his army in four divisions, commanded respectively by Major-Generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln. The last was not a Continental officer, but had recently come forward with a body of Massachusetts militia. It was decided in a council of war, that the army should leave New York Island, and be extended into the country, so as to outflank General Howe's columns. At the same time it was agreed, "that Fort Washington should be retained as long as possible." Two thousand men were left for that object.

One of the four divisions crossed Kingsbridge, and threw up breast-works at Valentine's Hill. The others followed and formed a line of detached camps, with intrenchments, on the heights stretching along the west side of the River Brunx, from Valentine's Hill to White Plains. This disposition was necessary in order to protect the baggage, stores, and cannon, which were

removed with great difficulty for the want of wagons and horses. General Washington proceeded with the advanced division to White Plains, where he fortified a camp in such a manner, as to afford security to the whole army, and where he intended to hazard a general engagement, if pushed by the enemy. The camp was on elevated ground, defended in front by two lines of intrenchments nearly parallel to each other, and between four and five hundred yards apart. The right wing rested on the Brunx, which, by making a short bend, encompassed the flank and part of the rear. The left wing reached to a pond, or small lake, of some extent, by which it was effectually secured.

As Sir William Howe marched his army directly forward in solid columns, without detaching any considerable parties towards New York and the Hudson, it was evident he intended to seek an opportunity to force a general action. As soon as the baggage and stores were brought up, therefore, Washington drew all his troops into the camp at White Plains. In the interim, parties of Americans attacked the enemy's outposts at different points, and spirited skirmishes took place.

Before noon, on the 28th of October, the British army came in view, and displayed itself on the sides of the hills in front of Washington's lines, and within two miles of his camp. A commanding height, called Chatterton's Hill, stood half a mile to the south of the American right flank, and was separated from it by the Brunx, and low marshy ground. A militia regiment had been posted there, which was joined in the morning by Colonel Haslet, with his Delaware regiment, and afterwards by a battalion of Maryland troops, and others, mostly militia, to the number of about sixteen hundred, the whole being under the command of General McDougall. The British commander made it his first

object to dislodge these troops. For this purpose a battalion of Hessians, a brigade of British commanded by General Leslie, and the Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, were ordered to cross the Brunx and attack in front; while Colonel Rahl, with another brigade of Hessians, should cross farther down the river and advance by a circuitous march upon the American right flank. They forded the Brunx, and formed in good order on the other side under the fire of their cannon, though not without being galled by the troops at the summit of the hill. They then ascended the heights, and, after a short but severe action, drove the Americans from their works; but, contented with gaining the post, and fearing they might be cut off by venturing too far from the main body, they desisted from pursuit. The American loss has been variously represented. According to a return made by General Howe himself, the prisoners were four officers and thirty-five privates. The number killed was not known.

It was expected that this advantage would be followed by an immediate attack on the camp. Such indeed was the first intention of General Howe, and his troops lay on their arms all that night. In writing to Congress the next morning, General Washington's secretary said; "After gaining the hill (upon which they are intrenching), and leaving a sufficient number of men and artillery to prevent our repossessing it, they proceeded to advance by our left; and, as far as I can discover, their posts or encampments now form nearly a semicircle. It is evident their design is to get in our rear according to their original plan. Every measure is taking to prevent them; but the removal of our baggage is attended with infinite difficulty and delays. Our post, from its situation, is not so advantageous as could be wished, and was only intended as temporary and

occasional, till the stores belonging to the army, which had been deposited here, could be removed. The enemy coming on so suddenly has distressed us much. They are now close at hand, and most probably will in a little time commence their second attack; we expect it every hour; perhaps it is beginning; I have just heard the report of some cannon." Nothing more occurred, however, than slight skirmishes between the advanced parties. On reconnoitring the camp, General Howe thought it too strong for an assault, and resolved to wait for a reinforcement from Earl Percy, then at Haerlem. This arrived in two days, and the 31st of October was fixed on for the attack; but a heavy rain caused it again to be deferred.

The same night General Washington drew all his troops to another position on the hills in his rear, which the delays of his opponent had allowed him time to fortify, and which could be more easily defended than his first camp. So judiciously was this movement planned and conducted, that it was carried into effect without loss or molestation, and even without being discovered by the British army. The idea of a battle was now abandoned by General Howe; he despaired of being able to dislodge the Americans from this strong position; and it was soon ascertained, that he was withdrawing his army towards the Hudson and Kingsbridge.

As this might be a feint to entice the American forces from the hilly country, Washington remained in his new camp for a few days, till it was found that the enemy were actually retracing their steps. It was then foreseen, that their first grand manœuvre would be to invest Fort Washington; and their next, to pass the Hudson, and carry the war into New Jersey, and perhaps make a push for Philadelphia. To meet these changes in

the best manner he could, he ordered all the troops belonging to the States west of the Hudson, five thousand in number, to cross the river at King's Ferry, all the crossing-places below being obstructed by British vessels. The rest of the army, composed of New York and eastern troops, was separated into two divisions. One of these, under General Heath, was stationed on both sides of the river in the Highlands, to defend those passes. The other, amounting to about four thousand men, of whom many were militia, whose times of service were soon to expire, was left in the camp near White Plains, commanded by General Lee, with discretionary instructions to continue on that side of the Hudson, or to follow the Commander-in-chief into New Jersey, as he should judge expedient when the designs of the enemy were unfolded. Having given these orders, General Washington inspected the posts at the Highlands, and then repaired to Hackinsac, at which place the troops that had crossed the river assembled, after a circuitous march of more than sixty miles.

General Howe moved his whole army to the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge. At his approach the Americans retired from Fort Independence, destroyed the bridge over Haerlem River, and withdrew to the lines near Fort Washington. Thirty flat-boats had passed up the Hudson undiscovered in the night, and entered Haerlem River, which, joined to others brought in from the East River, afforded ample means to the British army for crossing to New York Island. It was resolved to make the assault on the fort from four different points. The British adjutant-general was sent to Colonel Magaw, the commander in the fort, with a summons to surrender, which Colonel Magaw rejected, saying he would defend himself to the last extremity.

The next morning, November 16th, General Knyp-

hausen advanced with a body of Hessians to the north of the fort, and commenced the attack. Earl Percy nearly at the same time assailed the outer lines on the south; and two parties landed at some distance from each other, after crossing Haerlem River, and forced their way up the steep and rugged ascents on that side. The lines in every part were defended with great resolution and obstinacy; but, after a resistance of four or five hours, the men were driven into the fort, and Colonel Magaw was compelled to surrender the whole garrison prisoners of war. The American loss was about fifty killed, and two thousand eight hundred and eighteen prisoners, including officers and privates. The number of men originally left with Colonel Magaw was only two thousand; but, when the attack was threatened, General Greene sent over reinforcements from Fort Lee.

This was the severest blow which the American arms had yet sustained, and it happened at a most unpropitious time. That there was a great fault somewhere, has never been disputed. To whom it belongs, has been made a question. The project of holding the post, after the British began to retreat from White Plains, was General Greene's; and, as he had commanded at the station several weeks, he was presumed to be perfectly acquainted with the condition of the garrison and its means of defence, and deference was paid to his judgment. Eight days before the attack, Washington wrote to General Greene; "If we cannot prevent vessels from passing up, and the enemy are possessed of the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it answer to attempt to hold a post, from which the expected benefit cannot be had? I am therefore inclined to think, that it will not be prudent to hazard the stores and men at Mount Washington; but,

as you are on the spot, I leave it to you to give such orders, as to evacuating Mount Washington, as you may judge best." Nothing more decisive could be said without giving a positive order, which he was always reluctant to do, when he had confidence in an officer on a separate command. His opinion, that the troops ought to be withdrawn, is clearly intimated. General Greene replied; "I cannot help thinking the garrison is of advantage; and I cannot conceive it to be in any great danger. The men can be brought off at any time, but the stores may not be so easily removed. Yet I think they may be got off, if matters grow desperate." To this opinion General Greene adhered to the last. The evening before the assault, General Washington went from Hackinsac to Fort Lee; and while crossing the river, with the view of visiting the garrison, he met Generals Greene and Putnam returning, who told him "the troops were in high spirits, and would make a good defence." He went back with them to Fort Lee. The summons to surrender had already been received by Colonel Magaw; the attack was expected the next morning, and it was now too late to withdraw the troops.

In a letter to his brother, written from Hackinsac three days after the surrender, General Washington said; "This post, after the last ships went past it, was held contrary to my wishes and opinion, as I conceived it to be a hazardous one; but, it having been determined on by a full council of general officers, and a resolution of Congress having been received, strongly expressive of their desire, that the channel of the river, which we had been laboring to stop for a long time at that place, might be obstructed, if possible, and knowing that this could not be done, unless there were batteries to protect the obstruction, I did not care to give an

absolute order for withdrawing the garrison, till I could get round and see the situation of things, and then it became too late, as the fort was invested. Upon the passing of the last ships, I had given it as my opinion to General Greene, under whose care it was, that it would be best to evacuate the place; but, as the order was discretionary, and his opinion differed from mine, it unhappily was delayed too long."

From these facts it seems plain, that the loss of the garrison, in the manner it occurred, was the consequence of an erroneous judgment on the part of General Greene. How far the Commander-in-chief should have overruled his opinion, or whether, under the circumstances of the case, he ought to have given a peremptory order, it may perhaps be less easy to decide.

Sir William Howe followed up his successes. A detachment of six thousand men, led by Earl Cornwallis, landed on the Jersey side, six or seven miles above Fort Lee, gained the high grounds with artillery, and marched down between the Hudson and Hackinsac Rivers. The whole body of troops with Washington not being equal to this force, he withdrew the garrison from Fort Lee to the main army at Hackinsac, leaving behind the heavy cannon, many tents, and a large quantity of baggage, provision, and other stores, which the rapid advance of the enemy made it impossible to secure. Being now in a level country, where defence was difficult, pent up between rivers, and pressed by a force double his own, no resource remained but a rapid retreat. The Jersey shore, from New York to Brunswic, was open to the British vessels, and a landing might be effected at any place without opposition. It was necessary, therefore, that he should move towards the Delaware, pursuing a route near the Rariton River, that he might be in the way to prevent General Howe

from throwing in a strong detachment between him and Philadelphia.

While on the march, he wrote earnest letters to the governor of New Jersey and to Congress, describing his situation, and requesting the support of all the militia from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, that could be called into the service. When he arrived at Brunswic, the army then with him amounted to less than four thousand. He was closely pursued by Cornwallis; but the retreat was effected, without loss, to Trenton, where he crossed the Delaware, and took a stand on the western side of that river, securing the boats, and guarding the crossing-places from Coryell's Ferry to Bristol. At this time the number of his men, fit for duty, was about three thousand. The enemy did not attempt to pass the river. For the present, General Howe was contented with having overrun New Jersey; and he covered his acquisition by a chain of cantonments at Pennington, Trenton, Bordentown, and Burlington. In these positions the two armies continued with little change for nearly three weeks.

The troops, constituting the Flying Camp heretofore mentioned, were all enlisted in the middle States, and engaged for a year. Their term of service expired during the march, and none, except a small part of those from Pennsylvania, could be prevailed on to stay longer. The Board of War suggested a plan for enlisting prisoners, and appealed to the example of the enemy. General Washington opposed the measure, as not accordant with the rules of honorable warfare, and said he should remonstrate on the subject to Sir William Howe. He moreover thought it impolitic. In times of danger, such recruits would always be the most backward, fearing the punishment they would receive if captured, and communicating their fears to the other

soldiers. Prisoners would likewise be tempted to enlist with the intention to desert and carry intelligence to the enemy, for which they would be largely rewarded. Under no circumstances, therefore, could confidence be placed in such men; and the chance was, that they would do much harm.

From the time the army separated at White Plains, General Lee had acted a very extraordinary part. Washington requested him, in a letter written at Hackinsac, to lead his division into New Jersey, and join the army on its march. This was soon followed by a positive order, which was often repeated. General Lee sent back various excuses, lingered on the east side of the Hudson, endeavoured to draw away two thousand of General Heath's men from the Highlands, contrary to the instructions given by General Washington to the latter; and, after crossing with apparent reluctance into Jersey, his progress was so slow, that, in three weeks from the time he first received orders to march, he had only reached Morristown. The truth is, that he had schemes of his own, which he was disposed to effect at the hazard of disobeying the Commander-in-chief. In the first place, he hoped to make a brilliant stroke upon New York, when it should be exhausted of troops for the expedition towards the Delaware; and next, after crossing the Hudson, he still fostered the design of performing some signal exploit by attacking the enemy in their rear. But his ambitious projects and hopes were suddenly cut short. While on his march, not far from Baskingridge, he lodged one night at a private house three miles from his army, with a small guard. A Tory in the neighbourhood gave notice of his situation to the enemy, and early in the morning the house was surrounded by a party of light-horse, commanded by Colonel Harcourt, who took him

prisoner, and bore him off in triumph to the British camp.

This event created a strong sensation of surprise and regret throughout the country. The military talents, experience, and activity of General Lee had inspired universal confidence, and raised high expectations in the minds of the people. He had served in America during the last war, and afterwards with distinguished reputation in different parts of Europe. His recent enterprise and successes at the south had confirmed the good opinion before entertained of his abilities and skill. His capture, therefore, considering the circumstances, appeared inexplicable. Public sentiment, ever prone to extremes, took a direction unfavorable to his character. As no plausible reason could be assigned for his conduct in exposing himself so incautiously, it was surmised that he was a voluntary prisoner, and sought this method of joining the enemy without incurring the odium of desertion. But there was no just ground for such a suspicion. As a soldier, he was true to the interests of his adopted country; as a friend to American freedom, his sincerity may be questioned. Harbouring the most bitter resentment against the British King and ministry, for reasons not fully understood, he wished to see them humbled; and this motive alone would have impelled him to embrace any cause tending to such a result. Violent in his temper, hasty in his resolves, reckless in adventure, possessing an inordinate self-confidence and unbounded ambition, he looked upon the American war as presenting an opportunity for gratifying at the same time his animosity and his passion for glory. He entered heartily into the measures of opposition to the British arms, and in the first year of the contest rendered important services; but, believing himself superior to every other officer in the American

ranks, impatient of control even by Congress or the Commander-in-chief, and always pressing on the verge of disobedience, his arrogance had risen to a pitch, that must soon have led to mischievous consequences to himself, and perhaps to the country, if he had escaped the misfortune of captivity. He was a man of genius, well educated, and a skilful writer; but eccentric in his habits, unsettled in his principles, often offensive in his manners, showing little deference to the opinions and feelings of others, and little regard to the usages of society.

The command of Lee's division devolved on General Sullivan, who marched with it as soon as possible to the main army. Four regiments under General Gates also arrived from Ticonderoga, being relieved at that place by the retreat of General Carleton to Canada for winter-quarters. These were all the regular forces, which General Washington could draw to his support. Heath was ordered to advance with a part of his division from the Highlands; but the taking of Rhode Island by the British, and the threatening appearance of the enemy's vessels in the Sound, made it imprudent to weaken that post, or to call away any of the eastern troops, and the order was countermanded. Three regiments on their march from Ticonderoga were ordered to halt at Morristown, that, in conjunction with a body of militia there assembled, they might inspirit the inhabitants and protect the country in that quarter.

As soon as the ice should become sufficiently strong, it was expected the enemy would pass the Delaware, and bring all their force to bear upon Philadelphia. Anticipating this event, Congress adjourned to Baltimore. General Putnam took the command of the militia in Philadelphia, being instructed to throw up a line of intrenchments and redoubts from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and prepare for an obstinate defence.

This was the gloomiest period of the war. The campaign had been little else, than a series of disasters and retreats. The enemy had gained possession of Rhode Island, Long Island, the city of New York, Staten Island, and nearly the whole of the Jerseys, and seemed on the point of extending their conquests into Pennsylvania. By the fatal scheme of short enlistments, and by sickness, the effective force with General Washington had dwindled away, till it hardly deserved the name of an army. A proclamation was published jointly by Lord Howe and General Howe, offering pardon in the King's name to all, who should take the oath of allegiance, and come under his protection within sixty days. Many persons, among whom were men of wealth and consideration, accepted these terms, and went over to the enemy. Others, especially in New Jersey, took the oath, but remained at their homes. In short, so great was the panic and so dark the prospect, that a general despondency pervaded the continent.

In the midst of these scenes of trial and discouragement, Washington stood firm. Whatever his apprehensions may have been, no misgivings were manifest in his conduct or his counsels. From his letters, written at this time on the western bank of the Delaware, it does not appear that he yielded for a moment to a sense of immediate danger, or to a doubt of ultimate success. On the contrary, they breathe the same determined spirit, and are marked by the same confidence, calmness, and forethought, which distinguish them on all other occasions. When asked what he would do, if Philadelphia should be taken, he is reported to have said; "We will retreat beyond the Susquehanna River; and thence, if necessary, to the Allegany Mountains." Knowing, as he did, the temper of the people, the deep-rooted cause of the controversy, and the actual

resources of the confederacy, he was not disheartened by temporary misfortunes, being persuaded that perseverance would at last overcome every obstacle. While even the shadow of an army could be kept in the field, the war must be carried on at an enormous expense by the British government, which the wealthiest nation could not long sustain.

Deeply impressed with this conviction, and making it both the groundwork of his policy and his rule of action, he applied all his energies to a renovation of the army, boldly exposing to Congress the errors of their former systems, and earnestly exhorting them to a more effectual exercise of their authority in giving support and vigor to the military establishment. On the 20th of December he wrote as follows to the President of Congress.

"My feelings as an officer and a man have been such as to force me to say, that no person ever had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have. It is needless to add, that short enlistments, and a mistaken dependence upon militia, have been the origin of all our misfortunes, and the great accumulation of our debt. We find, Sir, that the enemy are daily gathering strength from the disaffected. This strength, like a snow-ball, by rolling, will increase, unless some means can be devised to check effectually the progress of the enemy's arms. Militia may possibly do it for a little while; but in a little while, also, and the militia of those States, which have been frequently called upon, will not turn out at all; or, if they do, it will be with so much reluctance and sloth, as to amount to the same thing. Instance New Jersey! Witness Pennsylvania! Could any thing but the River Delaware have saved Philadelphia? Can any thing (the exigency of the case indeed may justify it) be more destructive to the

recruiting service, than giving ten dollars' bounty for six weeks' service of the militia who come in, you cannot tell how, go, you cannot tell when, and act, you cannot tell where, consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last at a critical moment?

"These, Sir, are the men I am to depend upon ten days hence; this is the basis on which your cause will and must for ever depend, till you get a large standing army sufficient of itself to oppose the enemy. I therefore beg leave to give it as my humble opinion, that eighty-eight battalions are by no means equal to the opposition you are to make, and that a moment's time is not to be lost in raising a greater number, not less, in my opinion and the opinion of my officers, than a hundred and ten. It may be urged, that it will be found difficult enough to complete the first number. This may be true, and yet the officers of a hundred and ten battalions will recruit many more men, than those of eighty-eight. In my judgment this is not a time to stand upon expense; our funds are not the only object of consideration. The State of New York have added one battalion (I wish they had made it two) to their quota. If any good officers will offer to raise men upon Continental pay and establishment in this quarter, I shall encourage them to do so, and regiment them when they have done it. If Congress disapprove of this proceeding, they will please to signify it, as I mean it for the best. It may be thought that I am going a good deal out of the line of my duty, to adopt these measures, or to advise thus freely. A character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessings of liberty at stake, and a life devoted, must be my excuse."

This representation, and others of like import, had their due effect. Notwithstanding the extreme sensitiveness hitherto shown by Congress, in regard to a

military ascendency, the present crisis was such, as to silence the opposition, if not to change the sentiments, of the members who had looked with distrust upon every measure tending to strengthen the military arm. General Washington was at once invested with extraordinary powers. By a formal resolve he was authorized to raise sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to the eighty-eight already voted by Congress, and appoint the officers; to raise and equip three thousand light-horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers; to call upon any of the States for such aids of militia as he should judge necessary; to form magazines of provisions; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadiers, and fill up vacancies in every part of the army; to take whatever he should want for the use of the army, allowing the inhabitants a reasonable price for the same; and to arrest and confine persons, who refused to receive the Continental currency, or who were otherwise disaffected to the American cause, and to report them for trial to the States of which they were citizens. These powers constituted him in all respects a military *Dictator*. They were to continue six months; and in his exercise of them he fully justified the confidence of Congress, as expressed in the preamble to the resolve, in which it is said they were granted in consequence of a perfect reliance on his wisdom, vigor, and uprightness.

In this case, as in all others where power was intrusted to him, whether acting in a military or civil capacity, he was cautious to exercise it no farther than to effect the single end for which it was designed. Fearless in the discharge of duty, and never shrinking from responsibility, he was at the same time free from the vanity, which too often besets men in high stations, of gaining personal consequence by making himself

felt as the centre and moving spring of the operations over which he had control. No man was more vigilant in seeing that every thing was properly done; but he was willing that others should be the agents, or the contrivers, and that every one should have the credit and the praise of his worthy deeds. In the present instance, therefore, when Congress or the governments of the States voluntarily relieved him from a part of his task, which they sometimes did while he possessed the dictatorship, so far was he from thinking it an encroachment on his authority or an interference, that he expressed satisfaction and thanks.

To the main point, however, of reforming and recruiting the army, he gave his immediate and earnest attention. In advancing this object, he employed the powers with which he was invested to their fullest extent. The mode of appointing officers was one of the most serious defects in the system recently established by Congress. Some of the States had neglected to complete their appointments; and generally these were made with so little judgment, and with such a disregard of military rules, that officers without worth or experience had been put over the heads of those, who were accustomed to service, and had given proofs of their valor and ability. By his power to displace, and to fill up vacancies, Washington rectified these errors as far as prudence would permit. The appointments for the sixteen additional battalions of infantry, and the new regiments of light-horse, artillery, and engineers, being wholly in his hands, he took care to provide for meritorious officers, who had been overlooked by the States; thus removing their disgust, securing a valuable accession to the army, and inducing many privates to reënlist, who had participated in the dissatisfaction of their officers. His rule in this respect is

indicated in a letter of instructions to Colonel Baylor, who was to command a regiment of light-horse.

"As nothing contributes so much to the constitution of a good regiment," said he, "as a good corps of officers, and no method is so likely to obtain these, as leaving the choice in a great measure to the gentleman, who is to reap the honors or share the disgrace of their behaviour, I shall vest you with the power of nominating the officers of your regiment, except the field-officers; claiming to myself a negative upon a part or the whole, if I have reason to suspect an improper choice. I earnestly recommend to you to be circumspect in your choice of officers. Take none but gentlemen; let no local attachments influence you; do not suffer your good nature, when an application is made, to say yes, when you ought to say no; remember that it is a public, not a private cause, that is to be injured or benefited by your choice; recollect, also, that no instance has yet happened of good or bad behaviour in a corps in our service, that has not originated with the officers. Do not take old men, nor yet fill your corps with boys, especially for captains."

Before these measures for arranging the army were matured, other events of great importance occurred, which gave a new face to affairs. From the moment Washington crossed the Delaware, his thoughts were turned upon devising some method to retrieve his losses, or at least to impede the progress and derange the plans of the enemy. For several days it was uncertain what course General Howe would pursue. The river continued free from ice longer than was expected. He kept his detachments cantoned at the places where they had first been lodged, the strongest being at Brunswic, ready to move in any direction at a short notice. Meantime the American force gained accessions

by Lee's division, the regiments from Ticonderoga, and the militia from Philadelphia and the eastern parts of Pennsylvania, who turned out with spirit and in considerable numbers. These latter troops were in two bodies, one at Bristol under General Cadwalader, the other nearly opposite the town of Trenton, commanded by General Ewing. The Continental regiments were still retained in their original position higher up the river.

At length General Washington resolved to hazard the bold experiment of recrossing the Delaware, and attacking the enemy on their own ground. At Trenton were three regiments of Hessians, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British light-horse. Small detachments were stationed at Bordentown, Burlington, Black Horse, and Mount Holly. These latter posts were to be assaulted by Cadwalader, who was to cross near Bristol, while Washington should cross above Trenton, and Ewing a little below, and unite in the attack upon the Hessians in that place. The night of the 25th of December was fixed on for making the attempt.

At dusk the Continental troops selected for the service, and commanded by General Washington in person, amounting to two thousand four hundred men, with twenty pieces of artillery, began to cross at McKonkey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton, and it was supposed they would all be passed over by twelve o'clock; but the floating ice retarded the boats so much, that it was almost four o'clock in the morning before the whole body, with the artillery, was landed on the opposite bank of the river ready to march. The troops were then formed in two divisions. One of these, commanded by General Sullivan, marched in the road near the river; and the other, led by General Greene, moved down a road farther to the left, called the Pennington

road. General Washington was with this division. The roads entered the town at different points, and as the distance by each was nearly the same, it was intended that the attacks should begin simultaneously. At eight o'clock the left division fell in with the enemy's advanced guard, and almost at the same instant a firing was heard on the right, which showed that the other division had arrived. They both pushed forward into the town, meeting with little opposition, except from two or three pieces of artillery, which were soon taken. The Hessians, being driven from the town and hard pressed, made a show of retreating towards Princeton, but were checked by a body of troops sent to intercept them. Finding themselves surrounded, and seeing no other way of escape, they all surrendered prisoners of war.

The number of prisoners was twenty-three officers and eight hundred and eighty-six privates. Others were found concealed in houses, making in the whole about a thousand. The British light-horse, and four or five hundred Hessians, escaped at the beginning of the action over the bridge across the Assanpink, and fled to Bordentown. Six brass field-pieces and a thousand stand of arms were the trophies of victory. Colonel Rahl, the Hessian commander and a gallant officer, was mortally wounded. Six other officers and between twenty and thirty men were killed. The American loss was two privates killed and two others frozen to death. Captain William Washington, distinguished as an officer of cavalry at a later period of the war, and Lieutenant Monroe, afterwards President of the United States, were wounded in a brave and successful assault upon the enemy's artillery. The fact, that two men died by suffering from cold, is a proof of the intense severity of the weather. It snowed and hailed during the whole march.

The ice had formed so fast in the river below Trenton, that it was impracticable for the troops under Cadwalader and Ewing to pass over at the times agreed upon. Cadwalader succeeded in landing a battalion of infantry; but the ice on the margin of the stream was in such a condition, as to render it impossible to land the artillery, and they all returned. If Ewing had crossed, as was proposed, and taken possession of the bridge on the south side of the town, the party that fled would have been intercepted and captured. And there was the fairest prospect that Cadwalader would have been equally fortunate against the detachments below, or have driven them towards Trenton, where they would have met a victorious army. This part of the plan having failed, and the enemy being in force at Princeton and Brunswic, it was thought advisable by General Washington not to hazard any thing further, especially as his men were exhausted with fatigue. He recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners the same day, and gained his encampment on the other side.

The British and Hessian troops posted at Bordentown, and in the vicinity of that place, immediately retreated to Princeton, so that the whole line of the enemy's cantonments along the Delaware was broken up and driven back. As soon as his troops were refreshed, General Washington again passed over the Delaware, and took up his quarters at Trenton, resolved to pursue the enemy, or adopt such other measures as his situation would justify. Meanwhile General Cadwalader succeeded in crossing over with eighteen hundred Pennsylvania militia, who were followed by as many more under General Mifflin, all of whom formed a junction with the main army at Trenton.

At this critical moment the term of service of several regiments expired, the dissolution of the old army

occurring on the last day of the year; and, worn down with the extraordinary hardships of the campaign, the men seemed at first determined to go off in a body, and return to their homes. By much persuasion, however, and the exertions of their officers, seconded by a bounty of ten dollars to each man, more than half of them agreed to remain six weeks longer.

It was not presumed that Sir William Howe would long permit the Americans quietly to possess the advantages they had gained, or delay to retaliate for the disasters his army had suffered. He was now in New York; and, when the intelligence of the late events reached that city, he ordered Lord Cornwallis, then on the eve of embarking for Europe, to suspend his departure, and take the command in the Jerseys. This officer hastened to Princeton, followed by additional forces from Brunswic. In the morning of the 2d of January, it was ascertained that the enemy's battalions were marching towards Trenton, and General Washington prepared to meet an attack. To harass them on their march, and retard their progress, he sent out strong parties on the road to Princeton, with orders to skirmish at every advantageous position. These orders were faithfully obeyed, and the head of the enemy's columns did not reach Trenton till four o'clock in the afternoon. The American army then retired to the high ground beyond the Assanpink. The bridge was defended by artillery, and a sharp cannonade was kept up, particularly at that point, and at the fords above the bridge, which the enemy attempted to pass. At dusk the firing ceased, and Lord Cornwallis encamped his troops near the village, intending to renew the combat in the morning, when his reinforcements should arrive. The Americans encamped on the ground they occupied after crossing the Assanpink, and the fires kindled by the two armies were in full view of each other.

To all appearance a general action must be fought the next day, and this with fearful odds, as the British were superior in numbers, and immeasurably so in the discipline and experience of their men; for more than half of the American army consisted of militia, who had never seen a battle, and had been but a few days in the service. At the beginning of the evening General Washington assembled his officers in council, and a bold resolution was adopted. From the number of Lord Cornwallis's troops it was rightly conjectured, that he could not have left many in the rear; and it was decided to move by a concealed march on the east side of the Assanpink to Princeton. If no obstacles were met with on the way, it was possible that the army might push onward to Brunswic, surprise the enemy there, and capture the stores, before Lord Cornwallis could return. To secure his baggage and prevent it from encumbering the army, General Washington ordered it to be silently removed to Burlington, and at twelve o'clock at night commenced his march. That the suspicion of the enemy might not be awakened, the fires were kept burning, and the guards were ordered to remain at the bridge and the fords, till the approach of daylight, when they were to follow. Men were employed during the night digging an intrenchment so near the enemy's sentries, that they could be heard at their work.

Pursuing a circuitous route, General Washington reached Princeton a little after sunrise. Three British regiments were found there, being the seventeenth, fortieth, and fifty-fifth, commanded by Colonel Mawhood, two of which were designed to reinforce Lord Cornwallis that morning at Trenton. These two were already on their march. The American vanguard first engaged the seventeenth, and a short but very severe

conflict ensued. The regiment was thrown into disorder, and the fragments dispersed. Some accounts say, that they broke through the American ranks; others that they fled. At any rate, after a brave resistance, they escaped from the field, and regained the road to Trenton. The rencounter was likewise sustained with spirit by the fifty-fifth regiment, which finally retreated towards Brunswic, as did also the fortieth, which took little part in the action. The British loss was more than one hundred killed, and about three hundred prisoners.

But the victory was by no means a bloodless one to the Americans. General Mercer was mortally wounded; and Colonel Haslet, Colonel Potter, and other officers of subordinate rank, were killed. General Mercer was a Scotchman by birth, and in his youth had been in the battle of Culloden. He served in America with distinction during the last French war, and afterwards settled in Virginia. He was a brave and worthy man, an intimate friend of the Commander-in-chief, much respected for his talents, military character, and private worth, and his death was deeply lamented. Colonel Haslet had distinguished himself for bravery and good conduct in the battles of Long Island and Chatterton's Hill, and in several hazardous enterprises. Throughout the action General Washington exposed his person in the hottest parts of the combat, giving orders and animating the troops. At the request of the prisoners, Captain Leslie, a British officer much beloved by them, and killed in the action, was buried with military honors in the American camp.

When daylight appeared, and it was discovered that the Americans were gone, Lord Cornwallis easily penetrated the plans of Washington, and his conjecture was confirmed by the firing heard in the direction of

Princeton. Alarmed for the safety of Brunswic, he immediately retreated, and his van had almost reached Princeton, when the rear of the American army left it. Washington pursued the two fugitive regiments as far as Kingston, where he turned short to the left, and arrived the same evening at Pluckemin, having twice crossed the Millstone River, and caused the bridge at Kingston to be taken up, in order to retard the march of the enemy. Considering the exhausted state of his men, who had not slept for thirty-six hours, and the near approach of Cornwallis with a superior army of fresh troops, he thought it prudent to abandon his design upon Brunswic, contenting himself with his success at Princeton, and with having drawn the enemy from all their posts on the Delaware.

At Pluckemin he remained no longer than to give his troops rest and refreshment, and then advanced to Morristown, where his winter-quarters were finally established. This was not in all respects so favorable a situation as he desired; but it was in a mountainous region, difficult of access to the enemy, and surrounded by a fertile country, affording abundant supplies. He did not sit down idle, however, nor trust to the barriers of nature for his protection. Unprovided as his men were with almost every thing necessary for a winter campaign, he sent out detachments to assail and harass General Howe's troops; and with such vigor and address were these expeditions conducted, that in a short time not a single British or Hessian regiment remained in the Jerseys, except at Brunswic and Amboy, between which places and New York was an open communication by water.

Such were the splendid results of General Washington's plans and operations from the time he determined to recross the Delaware. When his army was thought

to be on the verge of annihilation, and the whole world regarded American liberty as struggling in the last stage of its existence, he commenced and pursued an offensive warfare against a hitherto victorious army, strong in numbers and confident in its strength, and, within the brief space of three weeks, dislodged it from every post it had taken along the Delaware River, relieved Philadelphia from danger, and recovered almost the whole province of New Jersey. The glory of these achievements was rendered doubly conspicuous by their immediate effects. The despondency, which had weighed heavily upon the minds of the people, was dispelled as by a charm, the martial spirit was revived, and a new animation infused into the public counsels.

The classical and eloquent Italian historian of the war, Charles Botta, after describing these transactions, adds; "Achievements so astonishing gained for the American commander a very great reputation, and were regarded with wonder by all nations, as well as by the Americans. Every one applauded the prudence, the firmness, and the daring of General Washington. All declared him the saviour of his country; all proclaimed him equal to the most renowned commanders of antiquity, and especially distinguished him by the name of the American Fabius. His name was in the mouths of all men, and celebrated by the pens of the most eminent writers. The greatest personages in Europe bestowed upon him praise and congratulation. Thus the American General wanted neither a noble cause to defend, nor an opportunity for acquiring glory, nor the genius to avail himself of it, nor a whole generation of men competent and well disposed to render him homage." *

* Storia della Guerra dell' Independenza degli Stati Uniti d' America, Tom. II. Lib. 7.

CHAPTER X.

General Washington's Proclamation. — His Preparations for the next Campaign. — Exchange of Prisoners. — Condition of the American Prisoners in New York. — Military Operations in New Jersey. — The Army crosses the Delaware and encamps near Germantown. — Washington's first Interview with Lafayette. — Sir William Howe lands at the Head of Elk. — Battle of the Brandywine. — New Powers conferred on Washington by Congress. — Battle of Germantown. — Skirmishes at Whitemarsh. — Sufferings of the Army. — Winter Encampment at Valley Forge. — Spurious Letters written and circulated in the Name of Washington. — Conway's Cabal. — Persons concerned in it. — Honorable and generous Conduct of Lafayette in Relation to this Affair.

HEAD-QUARTERS being at Morristown, the central or main division of the army was encamped for the winter near that place in huts temporarily constructed for the purpose. Cantonments were likewise established at various points from Princeton on the right, where General Putnam commanded, to the Highlands on the left, which post continued under the charge of General Heath. Skirmishes often happened between the American advanced troops and the enemy's foraging parties. For six months, however, no enterprise of magnitude was undertaken on either side.

Sir William Howe's proclamation, as we have seen, had produced considerable effect in the Jerseys. Not only the disaffected, but many well-disposed citizens, finding themselves in the power of the enemy, had sought protection for their families and their property by taking an oath of allegiance to the King. Their hopes had been fatally disappointed. With such license had the British and Hessian troops overrun the country, that they plundered, burnt, and destroyed whatever came in their way, and in some instances committed the greatest

outrages upon the inhabitants, without discriminating between friends and foes. In one respect this conduct was serviceable to the cause of the patriots. It roused the indignation of the people, and, goaded by the deep feeling of their wrongs, the militia flew to arms with an alacrity and determination not surpassed on any former occasion. A large number of substantial farmers, however, more pacific in their dispositions, who had taken advantage of the proclamation, professed scruples in regard to their oath. They looked upon their pledge as binding them at least to a passive neutrality.

To remove this difficulty, and draw a proper line of distinction between friends and enemies, General Washington issued a counter proclamation, commanding all persons, who had received protections from the British commissioners, to repair to head-quarters or to some general officer of the army, deliver up such protections, and take an oath of allegiance to the United States; "nevertheless granting full liberty to all such, as preferred the interests and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country, forthwith to withdraw themselves and their families within the enemy's lines." Thirty days were allowed for complying with this order, at the end of which period, those, who had neglected or refused to comply, were to be deemed as adherents to the King of Great Britain, and treated as enemies to the American States.

Strange as it may be thought, the publishing of this proclamation was considered an undue exercise of power. Even in Congress it was censured by some of the members. The legislature of New Jersey more than hinted, that it was an encroachment on their prerogatives. An oath of allegiance to the United States was said to be absurd before the confederation was formed, and the power of requiring such an oath was

claimed exclusively for each State. Hence the opposition arose, not from an impartial view of the abstract merits of the act, but from the jealousy of State sovereignty. Fully convinced, however, of the necessity, reasonableness, and equity of the measure, Washington adhered to it, and instructed his officers accordingly, willing, as in all other cases, to risk his own popularity in promoting the public interests.

His first care, after putting the troops in winter-quarters, was drawn to the completion of the army for the next campaign; and he wrote circular letters to the governors of the middle and eastern States, urging them in the strongest terms to adopt prompt and effectual methods for raising recruits and filling up their regiments. His efficient strength through the winter was so small, that prudence required him to use the expedient, to which he was often driven, of magnifying his numbers to the public, lest the enemy, becoming acquainted with his weakness, should make a sudden and rapid movement upon him, and obtain an easy victory. This deception, so essential to his safety, operated unfavorably; since it gave the impression that his army was much larger than it really was, and diminished the efforts of the States to provide seasonable reinforcements. It was only in the midst of a campaign, when the enemy were in motion, that the people thought of danger; and then it was often too late to make proper exertions for increasing the army.

To stimulate the activity of the States, by forcible and reiterated representations to the governors and legislatures, by argument, persuasion, and appeals to every motive of pride, honor, and patriotism, was the task which he was obliged to repeat every winter; and this was a source of unceasing anxiety from the time the troops went into quarters, till they again took the field

to combat the enemy. Congress, embarrassed by the novelty of their duties and the indefinite nature of their powers, deliberated with caution, and were seldom ready to act in military affairs, till incited by the counsels or earnest entreaties of the Commander-in-chief. For several months he had urged upon them the necessity of a larger number of general officers in the army, and in February five additional major-generals and ten brigadiers were appointed.

On this subject he always spoke with delicacy in his letters, rarely expressing an opinion as to the qualifications of individuals, and avoiding equally the appearance of partiality and of a wish to interfere in any degree with the appointing power. Various considerations produced delays and sometimes contentions in Congress respecting military appointments. Local predilections interposed the chief obstacles. The claims of the respective States were to be regarded, according to which the general officers were to be taken from each in proportion to the number of troops it furnished. By this rule the best officers in the country could not be selected, if it happened that more than one or two resided in the same State. Moreover there were frequent disagreements among the delegates of a particular State, in regard to the comparative merits of the candidates of such State, especially when the pretensions of each were supported by the influence of friends or parties. This mode of appointing officers not only brought some into the service, who were incompetent to their high station, but created dissensions in the army about rank, and added to the many troubles that harassed the Commander-in-chief.

Soon after General Howe arrived at Staten Island from Halifax, a correspondence was opened between him and General Washington respecting the exchange

of prisoners; and it was mutually agreed, that officers should be given for officers of equal rank, soldier for soldier, and citizen for citizen. Exchanges were effected upon this basis till the capture of General Lee. The British commander chose to consider that officer in the light of a deserter from the King's service, although he had resigned his commission before he joined the American army; and, in conformity with this view of his character, he was kept in more rigorous confinement than other prisoners of war. It was also understood, that he was to be tried by a court-martial. When these facts came to the knowledge of Congress, they thought it necessary, in support of their own dignity, and for the protection of their officers who might fall into the enemy's hands, to adopt energetic and decisive measures, and immediately resolved on severe retaliation. They decreed, that Colonel Campbell, a British prisoner in Massachusetts, and five Hessian field-officers taken at Trenton, should be subjected to precisely the same treatment as General Lee. The consequence was, that Colonel Campbell was confined in a common jail, and the Hessian officers, who had been sent to Virginia, were deprived of the privileges usually granted to prisoners of war.

General Washington at once saw the injurious tendency of this hasty and premature act of retaliation, and remonstrated strenuously against it. "In point of policy," said he, in a letter to the President of Congress, "under the present situation of our affairs, this doctrine cannot be supported. The balance of prisoners is greatly against us; and a general regard to the happiness of the whole should mark our conduct. Can we imagine, that our enemies will not mete the same punishments, the same indignities, the same cruelties, to those belonging to us, in their possession, that we impose on

theirs in our power? Why should we suppose them to possess more humanity than we have ourselves? Or why should an ineffectual attempt to relieve the distresses of one brave, unfortunate man, involve many more in the same calamities? However disagreeable the fact may be, the enemy at this time have in their power, and subject to their call, near three hundred officers belonging to the army of the United States. In this number there are some of high rank; and most of them are men of bravery and merit. The quota of theirs in our hands bears no proportion, being not more than fifty at most. Under these circumstances, we should certainly do no act to draw upon the gentlemen belonging to us, and who have already suffered a long captivity, greater punishments than they have experienced and now experience. If we should, what will their feelings be, and those of their numerous and extensive connexions? Suppose the treatment prescribed for the Hessians should be pursued, will it not establish what the enemy have been aiming to effect by every artifice and the grossest misrepresentations, I mean, an opinion of our enmity towards them, and of the cruel conduct they experience when they fall into our hands, a prejudice which we on our part have heretofore thought it politic to suppress and to root out by every act of lenity and kindness? It certainly will. The Hessians would hear of the punishment with all the circumstances of heightened exaggeration, would feel the injury, without investigating the cause, or reasoning upon the justice or necessity of it. The mischiefs, which may and must inevitably flow from the execution of the resolves, appear to be endless and innumerable."

On the other hand the American prisoners, who had been taken at Fort Washington and confined in New

York during the winter, had endured such sufferings as to excite universal indignation, and reflect reproach on the British commander. This is not the place to investigate the causes; but the fact is indisputable. A large proportion of them sunk under their sufferings and died; and, when others were sent out for exchange in the spring, they were so much emaciated and broken down, so totally unfit for service, that General Washington refused to return for them an equal number of healthy British or Hessian prisoners. Sir William Howe said this refusal was a violation of the rule for exchange, which had been agreed upon between them; and, although he could not deny the facts, yet he declared the prisoners had been treated as well as his circumstances would permit, and been provided with every thing necessary for their comfort. General Washington replied;

"You must be sensible, that our engagement, as well as all others of the kind, though in the letter it expresses only an equality of rank and number, as the rule of exchange, yet necessarily implies a regard to the general principles of mutual compensation and advantage. This is inherent in its nature, is the voice of reason; and no stipulation, as to the condition in which prisoners should be returned, was requisite. Humanity dictated, that their treatment should be such, as their health and comfort demanded; and, where her laws have been duly respected, their condition has been generally good. Nor is this the language of humanity alone; justice declares the same. The object of every cartel, or similar agreement, is the benefit of the prisoners themselves, and that of the contending powers. On this footing, it equally exacts, that they should be well treated, as well as that they should be exchanged. The reverse is, therefore, an evident infraction, and

ought to subject the party, on whom it is chargeable, to all the damage and ill consequences resulting from it. Nor can it be expected, that those unfitted for future service by acts of severity, in direct violation of a compact, are proper subjects for an exchange. In such case, to return others not in the same predicament, would be to give without receiving an equivalent; and would afford the greatest encouragement to cruelty and inhumanity. The argument, drawn from the mere circumstance of the prisoners having been received, is of no validity. Though, from their wretched situation, they could not, at that time, be deemed proper for an exchange, yet our humanity required, that they should be permitted to return among us.

"It may, perhaps, be fairly doubted, whether an apprehension of their death, or that of a great part of them, did not contribute somewhat to their being sent out when they were. Such an event, whilst they remained with you, would have been truly interesting; because it would have destroyed every shadow of claim for a return of the prisoners in our hands; and therefore policy, concurring with humanity, dictated that the measure should be adopted. Happy had it been, if the expedient had been thought of before these ill-fated men were reduced to such extremity. It is confessed, however, on all sides, that, after their delivery, they still continued your prisoners, and would be so till regularly exchanged.

"I acknowledge, that I should, and I have been always willing, notwithstanding this concession, to account for every man, who was in a proper condition and fit to be exchanged at the time he came out, so far as the proportion of prisoners with us would extend. With what propriety, or upon what foundation of justice, can more be demanded? This has been proposed,

or, what is the same, was most clearly implied in the first article or objection made by Lieutenant-Colonel Harrison, and illiberally rejected since, 'as inconsistent with any degree of reason or common sense.' Painful as it is, I am compelled to consider it as a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners, whilst in your possession, of the privates at least, was such as could not be justified. This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out; their appearance sanctioned the assertion; and melancholy experience, in the speedy death of a large part of them, stamped it with infallible certainty."

These difficulties interrupted for some time the exchange of prisoners. It should nevertheless be said, to the credit of Sir William Howe, that the retaliatory act of Congress did not influence his conduct towards the American prisoners; and it should also be added, that a want of humanity was never alleged to be a trait of his character. The sufferings of the unfortunate men in New York were probably to be attributed more to his inattention, than to any direct order; but this apology, if indeed it can be called an apology, is far from amounting to a justification. He wrote a state of the affair to the British government, particularly respecting General Lee; and the ministry decided that he should thenceforward be retained as a prisoner of war, although they had previously transmitted an order requiring him to be sent to England. This change of purpose was dictated by policy, General Howe having intimated that any evil, which might befall the Hessian officers in consequence of the detention of General Lee, would have a bad effect on the troops of that nation serving in America.

The winter passed away, and the spring was far advanced before the British commander gave any in-

dications of his designs for the campaign. His reinforcements from Europe arrived later, and in smaller numbers, than he anticipated; and he was obliged to curtail the plans, which he had suggested to the ministry the preceding autumn.

That he might not seem to be idle, he sent up the Sound a detachment of two thousand men under Governor Tryon, who landed in Connecticut, marched into the country, and destroyed the public stores at Danbury. They were bravely met by the militia and a few Continental troops, who harassed them on their march, and pursued them back to their boats. In the rencounters with the enemy on their retreat, General Wooster and General Arnold were wounded. The former died of his wounds.

At length General Howe enlarged his force at Brunswic, and began to build a bridge there, so constructed as to be laid on flat-boats, which it was supposed he intended to transport over land to the Delaware, and use in crossing that river. Meantime General Washington collected at Morristown the troops, which had been enlisted into the new army in Virginia and the middle States, and ordered those from the eastward to assemble at Peekskill on the Hudson. The want of arms, hitherto severely felt, was opportunely supplied by the arrival of two vessels from France, containing twenty-four thousand muskets.

Near the end of May he drew his main army to a very strong position at Middlebrook, only nine miles from Brunswic, and prepared to contest the passage of the enemy, should they attempt to move towards the Delaware. On the 13th of June, the British army marched from Brunswic, commanded by Sir William Howe in person, and stretched itself several miles into the country, well fortified on the right at Brunswic,

and secured in front by the Rariton, and on the left by the Millstone. This position was occupied six days. The object of this manœuvre was to bring on a general action. Washington was too cautious, however, to be tempted into such a snare at a great disadvantage with his raw troops, but he determined to defend his ground in any event. Not choosing to run the hazard of an attack, General Howe returned with his whole army to Brunswic, and in a short time evacuated that place and retreated to Amboy. Three regiments, detached under General Greene, fell upon his rear, pursued him as far as Piscataway, and did considerable execution. Washington then advanced towards the enemy with his main force to Quibbletown. Finding him thus drawn from his strong post, Sir William Howe marched suddenly into the country with all his troops seven or eight miles to Westfield, evidently seeking to turn the American left, and gain the high grounds. To counteract this attempt, Washington retired again to Middlebrook; and the only result of these movements was some smart skirmishing between the advanced parties of the two armies, with little loss on either side. Thus foiled in all his manœuvres for bringing on a general engagement, Sir William Howe crossed over to Staten Island, using for that purpose the floating bridge constructed at Brunswic, and entirely evacuated the Jerseys.

The very next day Washington received the first intelligence, that Burgoyne was approaching Ticonderoga with a formidable army. For some time it had also been reported by spies and deserters, that a fleet of large vessels and transports was preparing in the harbour of New York, with the apparent object of an expedition by water. At first it was not doubted, that this armament was destined against Philadelphia. But the news from the north cast a cloud of uncertainty

over all the enemy's schemes. It now seemed more probable, that concerted operations between Howe and Burgoyne were in view, and that the former would speedily ascend the Hudson to form a junction with the latter. The fitting out of the fleet, it was supposed, might have the double aim of a feint to deceive the Americans into a belief that some distant operation by sea was intended, and of actually preparing to transport troops up the Hudson. It was likewise conjectured, that an attack on New England was meditated, with the view of creating a diversion in favor of Burgoyne; and this was in fact a part of Howe's original plan, which he abandoned in consequence of the deficiency of his reinforcements from Europe.

This state of things was peculiarly embarrassing to Washington. While it was necessary for him to watch every point, it was still more so, that he should be at hand to meet the blow wherever it should be struck. The great object, at which the British had been aiming from the beginning of the war, namely, a possession of Hudson's River and the communication with Canada, thus separating the eastern and southern States, was so important, that he could not doubt this to be the special intent of Burgoyne's expedition; and yet he had seen so many evidences of General Howe's designs upon Philadelphia, that he was unable to relinquish his conviction of their reality. The immediate danger, however, was on the Hudson, to guard against which he despatched two regiments to Peekskill, and prepared to follow with his whole army.

This movement required caution and delay; for, should he withdraw his force too soon from the centre of Jersey, Sir William Howe might land his troops at South Amboy, and march to Philadelphia before he could be overtaken. But, when it was known, that

the enemy had actually embarked on board the fleet, Washington moved slowly towards the Highlands by way of Morristown and Ramapo, advancing as far as the Clove, and at the same time detaching Lord Stirling with a division to Peekskill. At this juncture the fleet dropped down to the Hook and went to sea. Waiting no longer than to be convinced of the absolute departure of the fleet, he immediately began to retrace his steps. The two divisions under Sullivan and Stirling, which had crossed the Hudson to Peekskill, were recalled, and the army pursued various routes to the banks of the Delaware. There he resolved to stay till he should receive further intelligence of the British fleet; for it was still possible that it might return to New York and ascend the Hudson.

News soon came, however, that it had been seen at the Capes of the Delaware, and its destination was then thought to be no longer doubtful. The army marched to Germantown, where it would be in readiness to defend the city of Philadelphia, and the General himself hastened forward to Chester. He there learned that the fleet had left the Capes and steered eastward. All his calculations were again baffled; for it was naturally inferred from the course taken by the fleet, that General Howe would either go directly back to New York, or to some place on the coast of New England, and coöperate with Burgoyne. Till this point was settled by certain information, nothing could be done. The army continued at Germantown, prepared to march at a moment's warning, except Sullivan's division and some other regiments, which were ordered to take post in New Jersey.

During this suspense General Washington passed two or three days in Philadelphia, holding conferences with committees and members of Congress. It was

here that he had his first interview with the Marquis de Lafayette. The enthusiastic zeal with which that young nobleman had embraced the American cause, his romantic adventures in leaving his own country and crossing the Atlantic, and the incidents which befell him on his arrival, are well known; and the part he acted during the war, his influence in gaining effectual aid from the French government, his deep and lasting attachment to Washington, the ardor and consistency with which he adhered to the interests of his adopted country to the end of his life, and the affection which the people of that country have ever manifested for his person and character, all conspire to make the day on which he entered the service one of the most remarkable in the revolution.

"When Lafayette arrived in Philadelphia, he put his letters into the hands of Mr. Lovell, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. He called the next day at the Hall of Congress, and Mr. Lovell came out to him and said, that so many foreigners had offered themselves for employment, that Congress was embarrassed with their applications, and he was sorry to inform him there was very little hope of his success. Lafayette suspected his papers had not been read, and he immediately sat down and wrote a note to the President of Congress, in which he desired to be permitted to serve in the American army on two conditions; first, that he should receive no pay; secondly, that he should act as a volunteer. These terms were so different from those demanded by other foreigners, and presented so few obstacles on the ground of an interference with American officers, that they were at once accepted. His rank, zeal, perseverance, and disinterestedness overcame every objection, and he was

appointed a major-general in the American army, more than a month before he had reached the age of twenty.

"Washington was expected shortly in Philadelphia, and the young general concluded to await his arrival before he went to head-quarters. The first introduction was at a dinner party, where several members of Congress were present. When they were about to separate, Washington took Lafayette aside, spoke to him very kindly, complimented him upon the noble spirit he had shown, and the sacrifices he had made, in favor of the American cause, and then told him that he should be pleased if he would make the quarters of the Commander-in-chief his home, establish himself there whenever he thought proper, and consider himself at all times as one of his family; adding, in a tone of pleasantry, that he could not promise him the luxuries of a court, or even the conveniences, which his former habits might have rendered essential to his comfort, but, since he had become an American soldier, he would doubtless contrive to accommodate himself to the character he had assumed, and submit with a good grace to the customs, manners, and privations of a republican army. If Lafayette was made happy by his success with Congress, his joy was redoubled by this flattering proof of friendship and regard on the part of the Commander-in-chief. His horses and equipage were immediately sent to camp; and ever afterwards, even when he had the command of a division, he kept up his intimacy at head-quarters, and enjoyed all the advantages of a member of the General's family. The day after the dinner, Washington inspected the fortifications in the Delaware River, and invited Lafayette to accompany him." *

* See *Washington's Writings*, Vol. V. p. 454; Appendix. Lafayette's appointment took place on the 31st of July.

For several days nothing was heard of the fleet, till it was seen again near the coast about sixteen leagues south of the Capes of Delaware. This was a proof, that it was really bound to the southward; and, as ten days passed without any other intelligence, the opinion began to prevail, that it was gone to Charleston. So thoroughly was this belief impressed upon Washington and his officers, that a council decided it to be expedient to march towards the Hudson, and either act against Burgoyne, or attack New York. This decision was approved by Congress; but, the very day on which the army was to march, an express arrived with intelligence, that the fleet was coming up the Chesapeake Bay, and had already ascended two hundred miles from its mouth. All uncertainty was now at an end. No one doubted the designs of Sir William Howe against Philadelphia, though, as Washington said, the route he had chosen was "a very strange one." The detachments were recalled from New Jersey, where Sullivan had employed them in an unsuccessful enterprise against Staten Island, and the whole army marched to Wilmington.

The reconnoitring parties soon reported the enemy to have landed below the Head of Elk. The American troops were posted at Red Clay Creek, a few miles beyond Wilmington, the pickets being advanced to Christiana Bridge. There was constant skirmishing between the light parties of the opposing armies, in which the Americans behaved with spirit, gained some advantages, and took about sixty prisoners. When General Howe had landed all his men, artillery, and baggage, his movements indicated an intention to outflank the American right; and Washington retired from his position at Red Clay Creek, crossed the Brandywine, and took possession of the high ground near

Chad's Ford. His right wing, so posted as to guard the fords above, was commanded by General Sullivan; and the Pennsylvania militia, under General Armstrong, were stationed on the left about two miles below.

At the same time the British advanced to Kennet Square, seven miles from Chad's Ford. At daybreak, on the morning of the 11th of September, Sir William Howe put his army in motion in two divisions; one, under Knyphausen taking the direct road to Chad's Ford; the other, led by Lord Cornwallis, moving along the Lancaster road, which ran for several miles nearly parallel with the Brandywine River. Sir William Howe was with this division. As soon as Knyphausen's advanced parties approached near Chad's Ford, they were attacked by General Maxwell with a body of light troops, and a very sharp rencounter ensued; but the enemy's columns pressed forward, and Maxwell was compelled to retire. From this time Knyphausen kept up a heavy fire of artillery, which was returned across the river; but he made no serious attempt to pass the ford. Parties went over and skirmished, and there was brisk firing at different points, without much execution on either side. It was the plan of the Hessian general to amuse the Americans in front, till Cornwallis should have time to gain their right flank and rear.

This design was early suspected by Washington, and he waited with extreme anxiety for intelligence from the patroles, who had been sent to watch the roads leading to the fords, which were all guarded as high up as the fork of the Brandywine, six or seven miles above Chad's Ford. At length, between eleven and twelve o'clock, a message came from General Sullivan, stating that a large body of the enemy had been discovered marching towards the upper fords. Washington ordered Sullivan to push over the river and

meet that division, while he crossed and attacked Knyphausen in front. Before this order could be executed, counter information was received. This contradiction and uncertainty caused the order to be suspended. A little after two o'clock, however, all doubt was removed. Having taken a wide circuit of seventeen miles and crossed two branches of the Brandywine above the fork, Cornwallis had gained the heights near Birmingham meeting-house, within two miles of Sullivan's right flank. Sullivan marched with the three divisions under his command, being his own, Stephen's, and Stirling's, and began to form his troops for action; but, before the arrangement could be completed, Cornwallis opened the attack with such impetuosity, that after a short resistance the right of the American line was broken, the remainder thrown into confusion, and the whole forced to a precipitate retreat. Some of them rallied, and took another stand, where they maintained a short and spirited conflict, till again driven by a greatly superior force from their ground.

The firing in this quarter was the signal for Knyphausen to cross the river, and assault the American intrenchments at Chad's Ford. He was met by General Wayne, who defended the post with his usual gallantry; but, at the head of a single division only, he was in no condition to withstand half the British army. General Greene with another division had removed to a central point between Chad's Ford and Sullivan's scene of action, where he could give support to either party as circumstances might require. Covering Sullivan's retreat, and seizing a pass about a mile from Dilworth, he checked the pursuit of the enemy, and sustained a warm engagement till dark. The firing then ceased. The British remained on the field of battle, and the Americans retreated in much disorder by different routes to

Chester, where they all arrived in the course of the night.

The numbers engaged in this action have never been accurately ascertained. Chief Justice Marshall estimates the British army, when it landed, at eighteen thousand men, healthy and well supplied with all the implements of war. He supposes the American army, including militia, amounted to fifteen thousand; but, from sickness and other causes, he thinks the effective strength on the day of battle was not more than eleven thousand. Sir William Howe reported his loss to be ninety killed, four hundred and eighty-eight wounded, and six missing. He stated that about three hundred Americans were killed, six hundred wounded, and four hundred taken. This could be only a conjectural estimate, since General Washington made no return of his loss to Congress; such a return being impracticable in the disconnected and moving condition of his army. The Marquis de Lafayette, while dismounted and endeavouring to rally the troops, was wounded in the leg, which caused him to retire from active service for two months.

The expediency of fighting this battle with a force so much inferior, and under many disadvantages, has been questioned by foreign writers. If the subject be viewed in a military light only, there may perhaps be just grounds for criticism. But it should be differently regarded. General Washington knew the expectation of the country and of Congress; and he was persuaded, that a defeat would be less injurious in its effects on the public mind, than the permitting of the enemy to march to Philadelphia without opposition. He doubtless hoped to make a better resistance; which he would have done, if he had not been deceived by contradictory intelligence in the time of battle, against

which no foresight could guard. Although some of his troops behaved ill, yet others, and the larger part, fought with signal bravery, and inspired him and themselves with a confidence, which could have been produced only by the trial.

The day after the action he retreated to Philadelphia, and encamped near Germantown. So far from being dismayed by the late disaster, Congress were inspirited to new exertions, and resolved to strengthen the army and bring together all the means of defence in their power. Fifteen hundred Continental troops were ordered down from General Putnam's command on the Hudson, and the militia in Pennsylvania and the adjoining States were summoned to join the main army with all possible despatch. Anticipating the necessity of removing from Philadelphia, Congress again invested General Washington with extraordinary powers. He was authorized to suspend officers, who should misbehave, and fill up vacancies; to take provisions and other articles for the subsistence and comfort of the army within seventy miles of head-quarters, paying or giving certificates for the same; and to remove, or secure for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects, which might be serviceable to the enemy. This last clause was of special importance; as a great number of disaffected persons in and around Philadelphia would take no pains to withdraw their property, preferring that it should fall into the hands and contribute to the supplies of the enemy.

After allowing his men one day for rest and refreshment, Washington returned across the Schuylkill, and took the Lancaster road leading to the left of the British army, fully determined to offer battle. This bold step, taken before the enemy had left the field of action at the Brandywine, was a proof that the late repulse

had in no degree unsettled his own resolution, or damped the ardor of his troops. The two armies met twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, and an engagement was actually begun between the advanced parties, when a heavy rain came on and rendered both armies totally unfit to pursue the contest. Washington retired to the Yellow Springs, but was not followed by the British; and he finally passed over the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford. The account of these movements is best related in his own words.

"The enemy," he says, "by a variety of perplexing manœuvres through a country from which I could not derive the least intelligence (being to a man disaffected), contrived to pass the Schuylkill last night at the Fatland and other fords in the neighbourhood of it. They marched immediately towards Philadelphia, and I imagine their advanced parties will be near that city to-night. They had so far got the start before I received certain intelligence that any considerable number had crossed, that I found it in vain to think of overtaking their rear, with troops harassed as ours had been with constant marching since the battle of Brandywine.

"When I last recrossed the Schuylkill, it was with a firm intent of giving the enemy battle wherever I should meet them; and accordingly I advanced as far as the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster road, near which place the two armies were upon the point of coming to a general engagement, but were prevented by a most violent flood of rain, which continued all the day and following night. When it held up, we had the mortification to find that our ammunition, which had been completed to forty rounds a man, was entirely ruined; and in that situation we had nothing left for it, but to find out a strong piece of ground, which we could easily maintain till we could get the arms put in

order, and a recruit of ammunition. Before this could be fully effected, the enemy marched from their position near the White Horse Tavern, down the road leading to the Swedes' Ford. I immediately crossed the Schuylkill above them, and threw myself full in their front, hoping to meet them on their passage, or soon after they had passed the river. The day before yesterday they were again in motion, and marched rapidly up the road leading towards Reading. This induced me to believe that they had two objects in view; one to get round the right of the army, the other perhaps to detach parties to Reading, where we had considerable quantities of military stores. To frustrate those intentions, I moved the army up on this side of the river to this place, determined to keep pace with them; but early this morning I received intelligence, that they had crossed the fords below. Why I did not follow immediately, I have mentioned in the former part of my letter; but the strongest reason against being able to make a forced march is the want of shoes. Messieurs Carroll, Chase, and Penn, who were some days with the army, can inform Congress in how deplorable a situation the troops are, for want of that necessary article. At least one thousand men are barefooted, and have performed the marches in that condition."

Congress adjourned first to Lancaster, and then to Yorktown in Pennsylvania, where they continued eight months, till Philadelphia was evacuated by the enemy. Immediately after the British entered the city, Lord Howe went out of the Chesapeake with his fleet and came round into the Delaware, intending to force the strong defences in that river, and ascend to Philadelphia. To aid in this undertaking a detachment of British troops was stationed on the left bank of the river in New Jersey. The larger part of the army

was encamped at Germantown, the remainder being in the city.

In this divided state of Sir William Howe's forces, Washington conceived the plan of attacking him by surprise. The British encampment extended across the village of Germantown, and at right angles with the main road. The American army was near Skippack Creek, about fourteen miles distant. At seven o'clock, in the evening of the 3d of October, the march began, and by the order of battle the troops were to approach the enemy by four routes, it being expected that the whole would arrive nearly at the same time. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the road leading to the enemy's centre; while Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to take the road on the right near the Schuylkill, and gain their left and rear. The divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by McDougall's brigade, were to make a circuit on the American left, and attack the British right wing, while the Maryland and Jersey militia, under Smallwood and Forman, were to move down by a road still farther to the left, and fall upon their right flank and rear. The plan was extremely well concerted, and the surprise was complete. The attack commenced between daybreak and sunrise. At first the action was very warm in the centre, and afterwards on the American left, and every thing seemed to promise success; but the Americans were ultimately obliged to retreat, and leave the enemy in possession of the ground. Washington speaks of this event as follows, in a letter to his brother.

"After the enemy had crossed the Schuylkill, we took the first favorable opportunity of attacking them. This was attempted by a night's march of fourteen miles to surprise them, which we effectually did, so far

as to reach their guards before they had notice of our coming; and, if it had not been for a thick fog, which rendered it so dark at times that we were not able to distinguish friend from foe at the distance of thirty yards, we should, I believe, have made a decisive and glorious day of it. But Providence designed it otherwise; for, after we had driven the enemy a mile or two, after they were in the utmost confusion and flying before us in most places, after we were upon the point, as it appeared to everybody, of grasping a complete victory, our own troops took fright and fled with precipitation and disorder. How to account for this, I know not; unless, as I before observed, the fog represented their own friends to them for a reinforcement of the enemy, as we attacked in different quarters at the same time, and were about closing the wings of our army when this happened. One thing, indeed, contributed not a little to our misfortune, and that was a want of ammunition on the right wing, which began the engagement, and in the course of two hours and forty minutes, which time it lasted, had, many of them, expended the forty rounds, that they took into the field. After the engagement we removed to a place about twenty miles from the enemy, to collect our forces together, to take care of our wounded, get furnished with necessaries again, and be in a better posture, either for offensive or defensive operations. We are now advancing towards the enemy again, being at this time within twelve miles of them.

"Our loss in the late action was, in killed, wounded, and missing, about one thousand men, but, of the missing, many, I dare say, took advantage of the times, and deserted. General Nash of North Carolina was wounded, and died two or three days after. Many valuable officers of ours were also wounded, and some killed.

In a word, it was a bloody day. Would to Heaven I could add, that it had been a more fortunate one for us."

General Howe reported his loss to be seventy-one killed, four hundred and fifty wounded, and fourteen missing. The American loss, as stated by Dr. Gordon on the authority of the Board of War, was one hundred and fifty killed, five hundred and twenty-one wounded, and about four hundred prisoners. In the midst of the action, six companies of the fortieth British regiment, commanded by Colonel Mulgrave, took possession of Chew's House, a strong stone building, which they barricaded and defended with so much obstinacy, as to retard for some time the advance of the second line of the Americans, intended to support the centre; and, during this delay, Sullivan's division, which had been closely engaged in front, having mostly expended its ammunition, began to retreat, and, falling back upon the second line, threw it into disorder. This circumstance, added to the dense fog, is supposed to have contributed much to the unfortunate issue of the day.

But the battle of Germantown was not without its good effects. It revived the hopes of the country by proving, that, notwithstanding the recent successes of the enemy, neither the spirit, resolution, and valor of the troops, nor the energy and confidence of the Commander had suffered any diminution. They were as prompt and eager to meet their adversaries in battle, as at the beginning of the campaign. Considered in its political relations, the event was not less important. When the American Commissioners in Paris had their first interview with Count de Vergennes to converse on a treaty of alliance, after complimenting them on the favorable prospects in America, and the conduct of the American troops, he added, "that nothing struck him

so much as General Washington's attacking and giving battle to General Howe's army; that to bring an army, raised within a year, to this, promised every thing." It has been commonly supposed, that Burgoyne's defeat was the turning point with the French government in joining the United States against England, and probably it was; but the above fact, recorded by one of the Commissioners at the time, shows that the operations of Washington's army had their due weight in the scale.

The British fleet having entered the Delaware, every exertion was made to remove the obstructions in the river, and drive the Americans from their fortified posts. By the activity of the small naval armament under Commodore Hazelwood, and the brave defence of Red Bank and Fort Mifflin, these efforts were resisted for more than six weeks, when a vastly superior force, both by land and water, compelled an evacuation of those places, and opened a passage for the enemy's shipping to Philadelphia.

Washington returned to his former station after the battle of Germantown, and in a few days encamped in a strong position at Whitemarsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia. General Greene was ordered with a detachment into New Jersey to operate against Cornwallis, who had passed over with a large body of troops to aid in reducing Fort Mercer at Red Bank. The Marquis de Lafayette was a volunteer under Greene, and distinguished himself in a skirmish with the enemy at Gloucester Point, although his wound was not yet entirely healed. No event of importance occurred. The British recrossed the river to Philadelphia, and Greene joined the main army at Whitemarsh. A reinforcement likewise arrived from the north, consisting of Morgan's rifle corps and part of the New Hampshire and Massa-

chusetts troops; the surrender of Burgoyne, and the relinquishment by the British of their temporary acquisitions in the Highlands, rendering their services no longer necessary in that quarter.

Sir William Howe, having received an accession to his strength by several regiments from New York, thought a good opportunity presented itself for trying his fortune in another battle, if he could find the Americans in such a condition as to attack them to advantage. He marched out of the city with twelve thousand men, in the evening of the 4th of December, and the next morning took post at Chesnut Hill, about three miles from the right of the American encampment. Washington sent out light troops to skirmish, but resolved to wait for the general attack on the ground he had chosen. This was an adventure, which General Howe was not inclined to hazard. After manœuvring three days in the front and on the flanks of the American lines, seeking for an advantage which his opponent was careful not to give, he retreated suddenly to Philadelphia, having lost in the different rencounters twenty men killed, sixty-three wounded, and thirty-three missing.

The season being far advanced, and the troops worn down by the hard service of the campaign, it was thought necessary to make immediate preparations for winter-quarters. Many of the soldiers were suffering extremely for the want of clothes and shoes; and even the supplies of provision and forage were obtained with difficulty. So great was the disaffection of the inhabitants, particularly after the British entered Philadelphia, that the larger portion of them refused to sell their produce to the American contractors, some perhaps through fear of the enemy, others from a sincere attachment to the royal cause; and even the well-affected were unwilling to part with their property upon so

feeble a security as the certificates given on the authority of Congress. With his usual delicacy and caution, Washington was reluctant to exercise the powers with which he was intrusted to obtain supplies from the people by forcible means. The soundest policy forbade this practice, as long as it could possibly be avoided. It alienated friends, and added a new motive for disaffection.

"I confess," said he, in writing to the President of Congress, "I have felt myself greatly embarrassed with respect to a vigorous exercise of military power. An ill-placed humanity, perhaps, and a reluctance to give distress, may have restrained me too far; but these were not all. I have been well aware of the prevalent jealousy of military power, and that this has been considered as an evil much to be apprehended, even by the best and most sensible among us. Under this idea, I have been cautious, and wished to avoid as much as possible any act that might increase it. However, Congress may be assured, that no exertions of mine, as far as circumstances will admit, shall be wanting to provide our own troops with supplies on the one hand, and to prevent the enemy from getting them on the other. At the same time they must be apprized, that many obstacles have arisen to render the former more precarious and difficult than they usually were, from the change in the commissary's department, at a very critical and interesting period. I should be happy, if the civil authority in the several States, through the recommendations of Congress, or their own mere will, seeing the necessity of supporting the army, would always adopt the most spirited measures, suited to the end. The people at large are governed much by custom. To acts of legislation or civil authority they have ever been taught to yield a willing obedience, without rea-

soning about their propriety; on those of military power, whether immediate or derived originally from another source, they have ever looked with a jealous or suspicious eye." And again; "It will never answer to procure supplies of clothing or provision by coercive measures. The small seizures made of the former a few days ago, in consequence of the most pressing and absolute necessity, when that, or to dissolve, was the alternative, excited the greatest alarm and uneasiness even among our best and warmest friends. Such procedures may give a momentary relief; but, if repeated, will prove of the most pernicious consequence. Besides spreading disaffection, jealousy, and fear among the people, they never fail, even in the most veteran troops under the most rigid and exact discipline, to raise in the soldiery a disposition to licentiousness, to plunder and robbery, difficult to suppress afterwards, and which has proved not only ruinous to the inhabitants, but, in many instances, to armies themselves. I regret the occasion that compelled us to the measure the other day; and shall consider it among the greatest of our misfortunes, if we should be under the necessity of practising it again."

These sentiments were not more the dictates of policy, than of wisdom and humanity. He adhered to them through the war, and in no case resorted to coercive measures for procuring supplies, till every other method had proved unavailing. And, in the deference he paid to the rights of property, he was equally scrupulous, whether it belonged to persons suspected of disaffection, or to avowed and active friends. While the former committed no positive acts of hostility, but remained quietly at their homes, he considered them amenable to the civil authorities alone for their opinions and conduct, and not within the pale of military coercion.

The officers differed widely in regard to the best mode of disposing of the army for the winter. Some advised that it should be quartered at Wilmington; others recommended the valley of Tredyfin, a few miles west of the Schuylkill, as the place of cantonment; while others preferred a line of detached posts extending from Lancaster to Reading. The matter was largely discussed in a council of war, and elaborate arguments in writing were given for each of these dispositions.

The opinions of the officers were so various and contradictory, that the Commander was finally obliged to act according to his own judgment, and on his own responsibility. He decided to establish a fortified encampment at Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. The ground was covered with woods, and bounded on one side by the Schuylkill, and on the others by ridges of hills. He examined the site in person, and designated the particular parts in which each regiment was to be quartered. The army marched to this place, and, on the 18th of December, orders were issued for building huts. Trees were felled for this purpose, and the huts were constructed with logs, the dimensions of each being sixteen feet by fourteen. One hut was assigned to twelve privates, and one to a smaller number of officers according to their rank. A general officer was the sole tenant of a hut. These structures were arranged in parallel lines where the shape of the ground would admit, and, when the encampment was completed, it had the appearance of a town with streets and avenues. Troops from the same State inhabited the same street or quarter. The whole encampment was surrounded on the land side by intrenchments; and a bridge was thrown across the river to open a communication with the country in that

direction. Here the army remained till the following June. A detachment was also stationed at Wilmington, to protect the State of Delaware from the incursions of the enemy's foraging parties.

The command of the American armies, and the responsibilities attending that high office, were not the only causes of vexation, which at this time harassed the mind of Washington. Attempts were made by his public adversaries, and by secret foes wearing the mask of friendship, to destroy his influence and ruin his character.

A pamphlet was published in London, containing a series of letters, purporting to have been written by him in the summer of 1776, and with his signature attached to them. It was stated in the preface, that, when Fort Lee was evacuated, General Washington's servant was left behind indisposed; that in his possession was a small portmanteau belonging to the General, in which, among other things of trifling value, were the drafts of several private letters to Mrs. Washington, Mr. Lund Washington, and Mr. Custis; and that these had been transmitted to England by an officer into whose hands they had fallen. This fiction was contrived to deceive the public into a belief of the genuineness of the letters, although in reality not one of General Washington's servants, nor a single article of his baggage, was taken by the enemy in the whole course of the war. But the tenor of the letters was the most insidious part of the fabrication. Washington is represented as expressing sentiments totally at variance with his conduct, and as deprecating the misguided zeal and rashness of Congress in declaring independence, and pushing the opposition to Great Britain to so perilous an extremity. The letters were reprinted in New York, and industriously circulated in various forms through the agency

of disaffected persons. The disguise was too flimsy to cover so nefarious a purpose. Whatever credit they may have gained in England, they could have no influence on his countrymen, who understood his character.

The author of these spurious epistles was never publicly known. They were written with considerable art, and by a person acquainted with many particulars of General Washington's family concerns. It is probable, also, that parts of intercepted letters actually written by him were interwoven. He never thought the subject worthy of his notice, till near the end of his presidency, when a new edition of these same forgeries was palmed upon the public to gratify the spleen of a malignant party spirit, and to effect a purpose even more infamous than the one contemplated by their original author. He then declared them, in a letter to the Secretary of State, to be spurious and false.

Whilst the enemies of his country were thus employed in scattering the seeds of detraction and falsehood, the agents of faction were secretly at work, both in the army and in Congress, to disparage and undermine his reputation. This conspiracy has been called *Conway's Cabal*, from the name of the individual who acted the most conspicuous part. The other prominent leaders were General Gates and General Mifflin. The causes and origin of the disaffection of these officers to the Commander-in-chief have not been explained. When they joined the service, at the beginning of the war, they professed to be his friends, and probably were such. It was mainly at his instance, that General Gates received his first appointment. Being an Englishman by birth, some of the members of Congress had scruples on the subject, thinking their cause would be safest in the charge of native Americans, both on account of their influence over the people, and of the ardor and

sincerity of their patriotism. These scruples were waved, however, in favor of Gates and Charles Lee, and in each case at the solicitation of Washington, who had confidence in their attachment to American liberty, and believed important aid might be derived from their military skill and experience.

The first symptoms of discontent are supposed to have been manifested at Cambridge. Gates was adjutant-general of the army, with the rank of brigadier. Mifflin went there as aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief, by whom, under the authority of Congress, he was appointed quartermaster-general, with the rank of colonel. After the organization of the first Continental army, Gates applied for the command of a brigade, and Mifflin of a regiment. These requests were declined by Washington, on the ground, in the first place, that the duties of their offices required their whole attention, and, in the next, that such an indulgence would interfere with the just claims of other officers. This refusal is thought to have given an offence, that was not forgotten. It is certain, that, after the army marched from Cambridge, General Gates made interest with Congress to be employed at a distance from Washington's immediate command, and continued to do so; and the correspondence with him on the part of Gates, made necessary by his official relation to the Commander-in-chief, so far from being cordial and friendly, was marked with "an air of design, a want of candor in many instances, and even of politeness." These are the words of Washington, contained in a letter to the President of Congress three years after the army left Cambridge, and they are verified by the correspondence since published.

Conway, by birth an Irishman, had been in the French service from his youth, and founded his claim to consideration on the circumstance of his being an

officer of thirty years' experience. He joined the army at Morristown, having the rank of brigadier, by the appointment of Congress. Of all the men in the world he was the last to conciliate the favor of Washington. Boastful, presumptuous, and intriguing, bent on pushing his fortune, and looking only to personal aggrandizement, he was unprincipled in regard to the means and reckless of consequences. Abundant proofs of these traits of character and of sinister aims were exhibited during the campaign; and, when it was rumored that Conway was to be promoted, Washington wrote to a member of Congress a letter of strong remonstrance against it, assigning his reasons without reserve. The success of the northern army, in the capture of Burgoyne, was the signal for the malecontents to assume a bolder attitude in prosecuting their machinations. Anonymous letters were sent to the President of Congress and the Governor of Virginia, filled with insinuations, complaints, and exaggerated statements, and ascribing all the misfortunes of the campaign to the incapacity, or ill-timed Fabian policy, of the Commander-in-chief. It was affirmed, with as much effrontery as falsehood, that his force had been three or four times as large as that opposed to him; and no pains were spared to make it appear, that all his plans and operations evinced a want of military knowledge, judgment, and decision.

These artifices, though practised in secret for a time, were well known to Washington. His scrutinizing observation easily penetrated the designs of those, who acted under the cloak of a pretended attachment; and his real friends, moved not less by a sense of duty to their country, than of justice to him, took care to put him on his guard, and to acquaint him with the intrigues of the cabal, as far as they could be ascertained from

overt acts, or inferred from less obvious indications. The affair was at length brought to his notice in a definite shape. When Colonel Wilkinson, one of Gates's aids-de-camp, was on his way from Saratoga to Congress, as bearer of despatches announcing the capitulation of Burgoyne, he stopped at the quarters of Lord Stirling, who was then at Reading. In a free conversation while there, Wilkinson repeated part of a letter, which Gates had received from Conway, containing strictures on the management of the army under Washington, accompanied with disparaging reflections. Prompted by patriotism and friendship, Lord Stirling communicated to him an extract from the letter as repeated by Wilkinson. A correspondence on the subject followed between Washington, Gates, and Conway. The genuineness of the extract was denied, but the letter itself was never produced. Two or three persons afterwards saw it in confidence, among whom was Mr. Laurens, President of Congress; and, although the words proved not to be exactly the same, yet the tenor and spirit of the letter were accurately reported. The transaction, and the incidents springing from it, could not long be concealed from the officers of the army. Rumors respecting them went abroad, and the public sentiment was expressed in a tone so unequivocal and decided, as to discourage the instigators; and their schemes were abandoned, before they had produced any of the fatal mischiefs, which must inevitably have followed, if their ambitious hopes had been realized.

There is no reason to suppose, that any of the officers were directly implicated in the cabal, except Gates, Mifflin, and Conway. That a considerable party in Congress favored the projects of these men is evident from the proceedings of that body for several months. After the capitulation at Saratoga, Gates for-

warded the official account of the event to Congress, without communicating the intelligence in any shape to the Commander-in-chief, which his duty as an officer and the common rules of courtesy required him to do; and Congress never intimated their dissatisfaction with this breach of decorum and marked disrespect to the commander of their armies, whose authority they were bound to support. Nearly at the same time Congress instituted a new Board of War, to which were granted large powers, and of which Gates and Mifflin were appointed members, Gates being placed at its head.

One of the first acts of this board was a projected expedition to Canada, planned by Gates, and approved by Congress, without consulting Washington in the least of its particulars. The first intimation he had of it was in a letter from the Board of War, enclosing another to Lafayette, informing him of his being appointed to the command of the expedition. It was the design of this stroke of policy to bring over Lafayette to the interests of the faction. They had little knowledge of his character. He was not to be deceived nor cajoled. He carried the letter to Washington, told him that he saw through the artifice, and should decline. Washington replied, that he knew not the object of the expedition, nor how it was to be carried into effect, but the appointment was an honorable one, which would place him in a conspicuous station, where he would in any event acquit himself with credit; for, if the enterprise should fail, he was persuaded his conduct would be such as to save him from faults and screen him from censure, and the responsibility would rest with its projectors. Yielding to this advice, he acceded to the proposal, went to Albany, where he had been promised that troops and every thing necessary should be provided, and, after waiting there three months, his patience being

exhausted and all his hopes defeated, as the Board of War did nothing to fulfil their promise or promote the expedition, he returned to the camp at Valley Forge.*

And it might here be recorded to the honor of Lafayette, if indeed his whole career in America was not a noble monument to his honor, his generosity, and unwavering fidelity to every trust reposed in him, that from the very first he resisted every attempt that was made by the flatteries of Conway, and the artifices of others, to bring him into the league. In the earliest stage of the cabal, before it had been whispered to the public, he wrote to Washington, stating his opinion of Conway, and his fears for the unhappy consequences that might flow from his conduct. "I need not tell you," said he, "how sorry I am at what has happened; it is a necessary result of my tender and respectful friendship for you, which is as true and candid as the other sentiments of my heart, and much stronger than so new an acquaintance might seem to admit. But another reason for my concern is my ardent and

* Before Lafayette commenced his journey to Albany, he rode to Yorktown, for the purpose of making arrangements with the Board of War. As soon as he arrived, he called on General Gates, whom he found surrounded by his friends seated at a dinner-table. They greeted him with much cordiality. He joined them at the table, the wine passed round, and several toasts were given. Determined not to act under disguise, and to take the first opportunity of letting his sentiments be known, he called to them, just as they were about to rise, and observed that one toast had been omitted, which he would propose. The glasses were filled, and he gave as a toast, "The Commander-in-chief of the American armies." It is needless to say, that it was coldly received; and it is possible, that this early and bold avowal of his predilections had some influence in damping the ardor, with which the leaders of the faction had planned this abortive Canada expedition. Conway was appointed second in command; but Lafayette insisted that the Baron de Kalb, in whom he had confidence, should be one of the officers, which was granted, but not without evident reluctance. Baron de Kalb, being higher in rank than Conway, was thus the second in command, and Conway the third.

perhaps enthusiastic wish for the happiness and liberty of this country. I see plainly that America can defend herself, if proper measures are taken; but I begin to fear that she may be lost by herself and her own sons." And again in conclusion he added; "My desire of deserving your approbation is strong; and, whenever you shall employ me, you can be certain of my trying every exertion in my power to succeed. I am now bound to your fate, and I shall follow it and sustain it, as well by my sword as by all the means in my power." To this pledge he was ever true.*

Standing firm in his integrity, Washington took no pains to counteract these machinations of his enemies, and, whatever may have been his regret and indignation at such evidences of ingratitude and perfidy, he did not allow them to disturb his equanimity, or to turn him in the least degree from his lofty purpose of serving his country in the sphere allotted to him with the disinterestedness, diligence, and ardor, that characterized his public life in every vicissitude of events. In a letter

* The following extract from a letter written by Lafayette to Baron Steuben, while the faction was at its height, affords an additional proof of his warm and generous friendship for Washington. It was dated at Albany, on the 12th of March, 1778. Baron Steuben had recently arrived in the country.

"Permit me," said Lafayette, "to express my satisfaction at your having seen General Washington. No enemies to that great man can be found, except among the enemies to his country; nor is it possible for any man of a noble spirit to refrain from loving the excellent qualities of his heart. I think I know him as well as any person, and such is the idea which I have formed of him. His honesty, his frankness, his sensibility, his virtue, to the full extent in which this word can be understood, are above all praise. It is not for me to judge of his military talents; but, according to my imperfect knowledge of these matters, his advice in council has always appeared to me the best, although his modesty prevents him sometimes from sustaining it; and his predictions have generally been fulfilled. I am the more happy in giving you this opinion of my friend, with all the sincerity which I feel, because some persons may perhaps attempt to deceive you on this point."

to President Laurens, who had enclosed to him an anonymous communication of a very insidious tendency, which he had received, and which the writer designed for Congress, Washington wrote as follows.

"I cannot sufficiently express the obligation I feel to you, for your friendship and politeness upon an occasion in which I am so deeply interested. I was not unapprized, that a malignant faction had been for some time forming to my prejudice; which, conscious as I am of having ever done all in my power to answer the important purposes of the trust reposed in me, could not but give me some pain on a personal account. But my chief concern arises from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences, which intestine dissensions may produce to the common cause.

"As I have no other view than to promote the public good, and am unambitious of honors not founded in the approbation of my country, I would not desire in the least degree to suppress a free spirit of inquiry into any part of my conduct, that even faction itself may deem reprehensible. The anonymous paper handed to you exhibits many serious charges, and it is my wish that it should be submitted to Congress. This I am the more inclined to, as the suppression or concealment may possibly involve you in embarrassments hereafter, since it is uncertain how many or who may be privy to the contents.

"My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets, which it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated

station? Merit and talents, with which I can have no pretensions of rivalship, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me, that it has been my unremitted aim to do the best that circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may in many instances deserve the imputation of error."

To what extent the members of Congress were concerned in this affair, it would be difficult now to decide. Names have been mentioned, but without such a clear statement of facts as to fix a direct charge upon any individual. The proceedings of Congress show, that the faction had supporters in that body; but who they were, or what precise objects they had in view, cannot now be ascertained from the testimony hitherto made public. The first aim of the cabal was, no doubt, to disgust Washington and cause him to resign. It is probable, that Gates's immediate coadjutors in the army looked to him as the successor, and that Gates flattered himself with this illusive dream. The dissatisfied members of Congress, it is more likely, had their eyes upon Charles Lee, who was soon to be exchanged.

Conway was the victim of his ambition and intrigues. Being wounded by an American officer in a duel, he wrote to General Washington while he thought himself near his end, expressing sorrow for his past conduct. "My career will soon be over," said he; "therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." This confession, dictated at a solemn moment by a corroding conscience, although it may be deemed an apology for personal injuries, cannot atone for the guilt of having endeavoured, in a time of public

danger and distress, to kindle the flame of discord in a country, whose liberties he had offered to vindicate, and whose cause he was pretending to serve. He unexpectedly recovered of his wound, and returned to France, leaving a name which few will envy, and an example which no one will be ambitious to imitate, who reflects how soon a crime may be followed by a just retribution.

CHAPTER XI.

Sufferings of the Army at Valley Forge. — New Arrangements concerted with a Committee of Congress. — Half-pay granted to the Officers for a term of years. — Proceedings in regard to Lord North's conciliatory Bills. — Arrival of the French Treaties of Alliance and Commerce. — Comparative Strength of the British and American Armies. — Discussions respecting an Attack on Philadelphia. — Plans of the Enemy. — Evacuation of Philadelphia. — The Army crosses the Delaware. — Battle of Monmouth. — Arrest and Trial of General Lee. — Arrival of the French Fleet under Count d'Estaing. — Plans for combined Operations between the Fleet and the American Army. — Failure of an Attempt against the Enemy at Rhode Island. — Cantonments of the Army for the Winter. — Exchange of Prisoners. — Congress. — Project of an Expedition to Canada.

The winter at Valley Forge is memorable in the history of the war. Owing to changes in the quartermaster's and commissary's departments, according to a scheme planned by Congress contrary to the judgment of Washington, the army had been wretchedly supplied, and at no time were the sufferings of the troops so great, as they were for a few weeks after they went into winter-quarters. Hardly were the huts begun, when information was received, that a party of the enemy had left Philadelphia, with the apparent design of foraging and drawing subsistence from the country. Several regiments were ordered to be in readiness to march, when it was discovered that they had no provisions, and that a dangerous mutiny was on the point of breaking out. The only remedy was to send parties abroad to collect, wherever they could find it, as much provision as would satisfy the pressing wants of the soldiers.

The same wants recurred at different times through the winter. On one occasion General Washington

wrote; "For some days there has been little less than a famine in camp. A part of the army have been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been ere this excited by their sufferings to a general mutiny and dispersion. Strong symptoms, however, of discontent have appeared in particular instances; and nothing but the most active efforts everywhere can long avert so shocking a catastrophe." Such was the scarcity of blankets, that many of the men were obliged to sit up all night by the fires, without covering to protect them while taking the common refreshment of sleep; and in numerous instances they were so scantily clad, that they could not leave their huts. Although the officers were better provided, yet none was exempt from exposures, privations, and hardships.*

Notwithstanding this deplorable condition of the army, there were not wanting those, who complained of its inactivity, and insisted on a winter campaign. When the encampment was begun at Valley Forge, the whole number of men in the field was eleven thousand and ninety-eight, of whom two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight were unfit for duty, "being barefoot and otherwise naked." In making this statement to Congress, and alluding to a memorial of the legislature of Pennsylvania, Washington said; "We find gentlemen, without knowing whether the army was really going into winter-quarters or not, reprobating the measure

* Mrs. Washington joined her husband at Valley Forge in February. Writing a month afterwards to Mrs. Mercy Warren, the historian of the revolution, she said; "The General's apartment is very small; he has had a log cabin built to dine in, which has made our quarters much more tolerable than they were at first."

as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of stocks or stones, and equally insensible of frost and snow; and moreover, as if they conceived it easily practicable for an inferior army, under the disadvantages I have described ours to be, which are by no means exaggerated, to confine a superior one, in all respects well-appointed and provided for a winter's campaign, within the city of Philadelphia, and to cover from depredation and waste the States of Pennsylvania and Jersey. But what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eye is, that these very gentlemen, — who were well apprized of the nakedness of the troops from ocular demonstration, who thought their own soldiers worse clad than others, and who advised me near a month ago to postpone the execution of a plan I was about to adopt, in consequence of a resolve of Congress, for seizing clothes, under strong assurances that an ample supply would be collected in ten days agreeably to a decree of the State (not one article of which, by the by, is yet come to hand), — should think a winter's campaign, and the covering of these States from the invasion of an enemy, so easy and practicable a business. I can assure those gentlemen, that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and, from my soul, I pity those miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve nor prevent."

After the immediate wants of the army in camp were provided for, he next employed his thoughts in devising a new and improved system for the future. The experience of three campaigns had proved the necessity

of radical and extensive changes in the plans hitherto pursued, both in regard to the organization and discipline of the army, and to the methods of obtaining supplies. He deemed the subject to be of the utmost importance, and one upon the due adjustment of which would depend not only the efficiency, but even the existence, of a Continental military force. That he might act upon the soundest principles, and with all the aids that could be collected from the knowledge and reflections of others, he requested the general officers to state their sentiments in writing. The result was a series of elaborate essays, containing such facts, discussions, and opinions, as the judgment and military skill of the writers enabled them to present.

Moved by the earnest solicitations of Washington, Congress at the same time took the subject into consideration. Their debates finally terminated in the appointment of a committee of five members of their body, who were instructed to repair to the camp at Valley Forge, and invested with ample powers to confer with the Commander, and digest in concert with him such a system as would correct existing abuses, lead to salutary reforms, and put the army on the footing he desired. When the committee arrived in camp, he laid before them a memoir, drawn up with great care, representing in detail the defects of previous arrangements, and containing an outline of a new and improved system. The committee continued in camp three months, and then returned to Congress and presented a report, which was in the main adopted.

On one point, however, which Washington considered not more equitable in itself, than essential to the continuance of an army, there was great difference of opinion among the members of Congress. Hitherto there had been no provision made for the officers after

the war should end, and no other inducement offered to them than their common wages while in actual service. Numerous complaints and resignations convinced Washington, that this motive, even when strengthened by ambition and patriotism, was not enough. He proposed half-pay for life, after the close of the war, or some other permanent provision.

"If my opinion be asked," said he in a letter to Congress, "with respect to the necessity of making this provision for the officers, I am ready to declare, that I do most religiously believe the salvation of the cause depends upon it, and, without it, your officers will moulder to nothing, or be composed of low and illiterate men, void of capacity for this or any other business. To prove this, I can with truth aver, that scarce a day passes without the offer of two or three commissions; and my advices from the eastward and southward are, that numbers who had gone home on furlough mean not to return, but are establishing themselves in more lucrative employments. Let Congress determine what will be the consequence of this spirit.

"Personally, as an officer, I have no interest in their decision, because I have declared, and I now repeat it, that I never will receive the smallest benefit from the half-pay establishment; but, as a man who fights under the weight of a proscription, and as a citizen, who wishes to see the liberty of his country established upon a permanent foundation, and whose property depends upon the success of our arms, I am deeply interested. But, all this apart, and justice out of the question, upon the single ground of economy and public saving, I will maintain the utility of it; for I have not the least doubt, that, until officers consider their commissions in an honorable and interested point of view, and are afraid to endanger them by negligence and

inattention, no order, regularity, or care, either of the men or public property, will prevail."

Finding that the proposition was opposed in Congress, upon principles which seemed to him erroneous and impolitic, he wrote to one of the members in terms still more earnest.

"The officers will not be persuaded," he observed, "to sacrifice all views of present interest, and encounter the numerous vicissitudes of war, in the defence of their country, unless she will be generous enough on her part to make a decent provision for their future support. I do not pronounce absolutely, that we shall have no army if the establishment fails, but the army which we may have will be without discipline, without energy, incapable of acting with vigor, and destitute of those cements necessary to promise success on the one hand, or to withstand the shocks of adversity on the other. It is indeed hard to say how extensive the evil may be, if the measure should be rejected, or much longer delayed. I find it a very arduous task to keep the officers in tolerable humor, and to protract such a combination for quitting the service, as might possibly undo us for ever.

"The difference between our service and that of the enemy is very striking. With us, from the peculiar, unhappy situation of things, the officer, a few instances excepted, must break in upon his private fortune for present support, without a prospect of future relief. With them, even companies are esteemed so honorable and so valuable, that they have sold of late from fifteen to twenty-two hundred pounds sterling; and I am credibly informed, that four thousand guineas have been given for a troop of dragoons. You will readily determine how this difference will operate; what effects it must produce. Men may speculate as they

will; they may talk of patriotism; they may draw a few examples, from ancient story, of great achievements performed by its influence; but whoever builds upon them, as a sufficient basis for conducting a long and bloody war, will find himself deceived in the end. We must take the passions of men as nature has given them, and those principles as a guide, which are generally the rule of action. I do not mean to exclude altogether the idea of patriotism. I know it exists, and I know it has done much in the present contest. But I will venture to assert, that a great and lasting war can never be supported on this principle alone. It must be aided by a prospect of interest, or some reward. For a time it may, of itself, push men to action, to bear much, to encounter difficulties; but it will not endure unassisted by interest."

These representations, so judicious and forcible, could not fail to have some influence even on the minds of those, who were the most decided in their hostility to the measure. But they did not produce entire conviction, and the subject met with difficulties and delays. One party thought, or professed to think, that Congress had no power to act in such a matter, and proposed to refer it to the State legislatures; another was haunted with the fear of a standing army, a privileged class, and a pension list; and another could see no difference between the sacrifices of the officers, in defending their country, and of private citizens, whose property was plundered, ravaged, and destroyed by the enemy. After much discussion, the plan of half-pay for life was carried, but by so small a majority that the vote was reconsidered, and a compromise was effected. By the ultimate decision, the officers were to receive half-pay for the term of seven years, and a gratuity of eighty dollars was to be given to each non-commissioned

officer and soldier, who should continue in the service to the end of the war.

While this subject was under discussion, Washington saw with deep concern the jealousy of the army, which was manifested in Congress, and its unhappy influence on their deliberations. In other countries this prejudice exists against standing armies only in times of peace, and this because the troops are a distinct body from the citizens, having few interests in common with them, and little other means of support than what flows from their military employment. But "it is *our* policy," said he, "to be prejudiced against them in time of war, though they are citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens, and in most cases property totally unconnected with the military line." So heavily did this subject weigh upon his mind, that he unburdened himself freely in a letter to a member of Congress, and used all his endeavours to promote harmony, union, and a national feeling among those on whom the safety of the republic depended, whether acting in a civil or military capacity.

"If we would pursue a right system of policy," he observed, "in my opinion, there should be none of these distinctions. We should all, Congress and army, be considered as one people, embarked in one cause, in one interest; acting on the same principle, and to the same end. The distinction, the jealousies set up, or perhaps only incautiously let out, can answer not a single good purpose. They are impolitic in the extreme. Among individuals the most certain way to make a man your enemy is to tell him you esteem him such. So with public bodies; and the very jealousy, which the narrow politics of some may affect to entertain of the army, in order to a due subordination to the supreme civil authority, is a likely means to produce a contrary effect; to incline it to the pursuit of those measures,

which they may wish it to avoid. It is unjust, because no order of men in the Thirteen States has paid a more sacred regard to the proceedings of Congress than the army; for without arrogance or the smallest deviation from truth it may be said, that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done, and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men, without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes (for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet), and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through the frost and snow, and at Christmas taking up their winter-quarters within a day's march of the enemy, without a house or hut to cover them till they could be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience, which in my opinion can scarce be paralleled."

Bound by strong ties of attachment to the army, on the good or ill fortunes of which his own reputation so much depended, he spared no efforts to redress its grievances, maintain its rights, and mitigate its sufferings; but he was prompt and inflexible in checking the least disposition to encroach on the civil power, or to claim privileges, however reasonable in themselves, which the peculiar circumstances of the country rendered it hazardous or inexpedient to grant. Considering the materials of the army, composed of freemen brought together and held together almost without the aid of law or of authority in any supreme head, unaccustomed to a soldier's life, impatient under discipline, and constantly exposed to extraordinary privations and distresses, it may truly be said, that no commander ever had a more difficult task to perform in discharging the duties of his station; and this in addition to the labor and responsi-

bility of suggesting to Congress the important measures, which they were to adopt in regard to military affairs, the vexation of seeing his plans thwarted by prejudice and party dissensions, and the anxiety he never ceased to feel on account of the divided counsels, apathy, antipathies, and local predilections, which were manifested both in Congress and in the State legislatures.

About the middle of April arrived in New York a draft of what were called Lord North's *Conciliatory Bills*, containing a new project by him submitted to Parliament for settling the differences between Great Britain and the United States. This movement was prompted by the apprehension, that France would soon acknowledge the independence of the latter, and join in the war against England. Governor Tryon, to whom the draft of the bills was sent, had it immediately reprinted in New York, and took measures to disperse copies of it as extensively as possible in the country, which, he said, was done in obedience to "his Majesty's command." Copies were enclosed by him to General Washington, with a polite request that he would aid in circulating them, "that the people at large might be acquainted with the favorable disposition of Great Britain towards the American colonies." Washington sent them to Congress.

As to the tenor of the bills, it is enough to say, that the terms held out were such as would undoubtedly have been accepted in the first stages of the controversy. Important changes had since occurred. The Americans had declared themselves an independent nation. They had shed their blood, expended their means, and endured the miseries of a three years' war, in defence of the rights they claimed, and the character they had assumed. It was no part of the British ministry's plan to treat with the American States as an

independent power. They were to go back to their old condition as colonies, be favored with certain privileges, and, relieved from the burden of self-government, to trust their liberties again to the parental guardianship of the mother country. Till the remembrance of the past should be obliterated, these proffers were not likely to gain the confidence or change the sentiments of those, who had taken the lead in opposition after a thorough knowledge of the causes, and of the grounds on which they stood, and who had already risked much and labored hard to secure the political existence and prosperity of their country, by establishing them on the firm basis of union and freedom.

Yet it was feared there were some, who, weary of the war, or disheartened at the prospect of its continuance, might be soothed with the voice of conciliation, and thus become cold supporters of the popular cause, if not decided advocates for peace on the terms proposed. To prevent this consequence, as far as the weight of his judgment would go, Washington expressed his own opinions in very decided language to a member of Congress only two days after he learned the contents of the conciliatory bills. "Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war. The injuries we have received from the British nation were so unprovoked, and have been so great and so many, that they can never be forgotten. Besides the feuds, the jealousies, the animosities, that would ever attend a union with them; besides the importance, the advantages, which we should derive from an unrestricted commerce; our fidelity as a people, our gratitude, our character as men, are opposed to a coalition with them as subjects, but in case of the last extremity. Were we easily to accede

to terms of dependence, no nation, upon future occasions, let the oppressions of Britain be ever so flagrant and unjust, would interpose for our relief; or, at most, they would do it with a cautious reluctance, and upon conditions most probably that would be hard, if not dishonorable to us." Fortunately, the subject appeared in the same light to Congress. As soon as the drafts of Lord North's bills were received, they were referred to a committee, upon whose report a short discussion ensued; and it was unanimously resolved, that the terms offered were totally inadequate, and that no advances on the part of the British government for a peace would be met, unless, as a preliminary step, they either withdrew their armies and fleets, or acknowledged unequivocally the independence of the United States. At the same time the bills were published in connexion with the proceedings of Congress, and circulated throughout the country.

The three commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and William Eden, sent over from England to negotiate the business of conciliation, did not arrive in Philadelphia till six weeks after the drafts of the bills were published by Governor Tryon. Two of the commissioners, Johnstone and Eden, were the bearers of private letters of introduction to General Washington from his friends in England, and also of many other letters to gentlemen of high political standing. To all appearance the olive branch was fairly held out. The secretary to the commission was Dr. Ferguson, the celebrated professor of moral philosophy in Edinburgh. On the first landing of the commissioners, they despatched their letters to Washington's camp, and requested a passport for Dr. Ferguson to go to Yorktown, where Congress was then sitting, and present in person the papers they had brought. This matter being wholly

of a civil nature, he did not think himself authorized to give such a passport, without the direction of Congress, and he forwarded to them the application. Impatient at the delay, or fearing a positive refusal from Congress to receive the papers, the commissioners immediately sent them through the usual medium of a flag to the President. The reception they met with may be imagined from the manner in which Lord North's bills had been disposed of. The door to any kind of compromise on the principles laid down in those bills had been effectually closed, and Congress adhered to their first resolution. The commissioners remained several months in the country, made various attempts to gain their object, as well by art and address as by official intercourse, and at last went back to England baffled and disappointed, if indeed they ever had any real hope of success, which may be doubted.

Meantime an important event occurred, which diffused universal joy in America. The King of France recognised the independence of the United States in a formal treaty of amity and commerce, and in a treaty of defensive alliance, both signed in Paris on the 6th of February, by M. Gérard on the part of France, and by the American commissioners, Franklin, Deane, and Lee. It was of course expected, that this procedure would bring on a war between England and France, and the parties mutually agreed not to lay down their arms till the independence of the United States should be assured by a treaty at the termination of the war. The messenger, who brought the news of this auspicious event, and who was likewise the bearer of the treaties, arrived in Yorktown on the 2d of May, ten days after Congress had passed their resolves respecting Lord North's bills. This last fact is worthy of remark, as it shows that the transactions in France,

being then unknown, had no influence in producing those resolves. The treaties were immediately ratified by Congress.

The army participated in the rejoicings everywhere manifested on this occasion. A day was set apart for a public celebration in camp. It began in the morning with religious services, and a discourse to each of the brigades by one of its chaplains. Then followed military parades, marchings, and firings of cannon and musketry, according to a plan announced in the general orders. The appearance was brilliant and the effect imposing. The whole ceremony was conducted with perfect regularity, and was closed with an entertainment, patriotic toasts, music, and other demonstrations of joy.

The British kept possession of Philadelphia through the winter and the spring following; and, although Washington's camp was within twenty miles of the city, yet no enterprise was undertaken to molest him in his quarters. Foraging parties went out and committed depredations upon the inhabitants; but they were watched by the Americans, who sometimes met them in fierce and bloody rencounters. When it was told to Dr. Franklin in Paris, that General Howe had taken Philadelphia, he sagaciously replied; "Say rather, that Philadelphia has taken General Howe." This prediction, if such it may be called, was verified in the end. The conquest gained at the expense of a campaign, and with a considerable loss of men, actually availed nothing. Philadelphia, fortified on the land side and guarded by a formidable fleet in the river, afforded to the British army a resting-place for eight months. This was the whole fruit of the bloodshed and victory. New York would have afforded the same, without the trouble of a campaign, and at much less cost.

The number of troops for the Continental army, according to the new establishment agreed upon by the committee of Congress at Valley Forge, was to be about forty thousand, besides artillery and horse. When a council of war was called, on the 8th of May, to consider what measures should be adopted for future operations, it was found, that the army, including the detachments on the North River and at other places, did not then exceed fifteen thousand men, nor was it supposed that it could soon be raised higher than twenty thousand effective men. The number at Valley Forge was eleven thousand eight hundred. The British army in New York and Philadelphia, as since ascertained from the adjutant's returns, amounted to nearly thirty thousand, of which number nineteen thousand five hundred were in Philadelphia, and ten thousand four hundred in New York. There were besides three thousand seven hundred at Rhode Island; making the whole British army in the middle and eastern States upwards of thirty-three thousand.

These numbers are much larger than was imagined by the council of war. They estimated the enemy's force in Philadelphia at ten thousand, in New York at four thousand, and in Rhode Island at two thousand, besides cavalry and artillery. Upon this basis the question was discussed, whether it was expedient to take the field and act on the defensive, or wait till the plans of the enemy should become more obvious, and then be guided by circumstances. There was great unanimity in the decision. To take the city by storm was impracticable without a vastly superior force; and equally so to carry it by siege or blockade, strongly fortified as it was by nature and artificial works, and by vessels of war. Militia might be called out, but it was uncertain in what numbers; and, however numerous,

they could not be depended on for such an enterprise. In every view of the subject, therefore, weighty objections presented themselves against any scheme of offensive operations.

It was not long before affairs began to put on a new aspect. From the intelligence communicated by spies, and from various indications, it was suspected, that the enemy were preparing to evacuate Philadelphia. Sir William Howe, weary of a service in which he found himself gradually losing the confidence of his employers and supplying his enemies with weapons to assail his reputation, and thinking his honors dearly bought at such a price, had asked to be recalled, and his request was granted by the King. He was succeeded, in the command of his Majesty's forces in America, by Sir Henry Clinton, who had been made knight of the order of the Bath during the past year. The treaties between France and the United States were regarded by the court of Great Britain as a declaration of war on the part of France, and caused a change in the plans of the ministry for conducting the contest in America. It was resolved to make a sudden descent upon some of the French possessions in the West Indies. To aid in executing this project, Sir Henry Clinton was ordered to send five thousand men from his army; and also three thousand more to Florida; and to withdraw the remainder to New York. Another reason for this last movement was the probability, that a French fleet would soon appear at the mouth of the Delaware, and thus blockade the shipping in that river, and put in jeopardy the army, diminished as it would be by the departure of the above detachments.

Sir Henry Clinton first intended to proceed by water with his whole army to New York; but this was found impracticable for the want of transports. He therefore

shipped his cavalry, part of the German troops, the American loyalists, his provision train and heavy baggage, on board such vessels as were in the river, and prepared to march through New Jersey with the main body of his army.

While these preparations were making with as much secrecy as possible by the British commander, Washington sent out from Valley Forge a detachment of two thousand men under the Marquis de Lafayette, the object of which was to cover the country between the Delaware and Schuylkill, to interrupt the communication with Philadelphia, to obstruct the incursions of the enemy's parties, and gain intelligence of their motions and designs. Lafayette marched to Barren Hill, and, while stationed there, a large part of the British army came out by a forced march in the night, with the intention of attacking him by surprise, and cutting off his detachment. Owing to the negligence, disobedience, or treachery of a picket guard, Lafayette was nearly surrounded by the enemy before he was informed of their approach; but by a very skilful manœuvre, quickly conceived and performed in a masterly manner, he gained a ford and drew off his whole detachment across the Schuylkill, with the loss of only nine men killed and taken. The enemy retreated to Philadelphia.

To obstruct the progress of the British troops, in case they should take the route over land to New York, General Maxwell was ordered to cross the Delaware with a brigade, and to act in concert with General Dickinson, who commanded the New Jersey militia. It being more and more evident, that Sir Henry Clinton was preparing to move by land, the opinion of the general officers was required, as to the operations in consequence of that event. The principal point to be considered was, whether the army should pursue the

British, fall upon their rear, and bring on an engagement. Opinions were various; but nearly all the officers were opposed to an attack, on account of the superiority of the enemy in force and discipline. General Lee, who had been exchanged, and had recently joined the army, argued vehemently against such a step. Some of the officers agreed with him; others, who were unwilling to advise a general action, thought that the enemy should at any rate be harassed in their march, and that an engagement, though not to be sought, should not be avoided if circumstances rendered it expedient.

The news of the evacuation of Philadelphia, which took place in the morning of the 18th of June, was received while the subject was still under discussion. General Arnold, who had not yet entirely recovered from the wound he received at Saratoga, was ordered to march with a small detachment into the city, and to retain the command there. General Lee and General Wayne, each at the head of a division, took the road to Coryell's Ferry, with orders to halt on the first strong ground after passing the river. Washington followed, and in six days the whole army had crossed the Delaware, and arrived at Hopewell, five miles from Princeton. Detachments in the mean time had been sent to impede the enemy's march. Morgan's corps of six hundred men was ordered to gain their right flank, Maxwell's brigade to hang on their left, and General Scott, with fifteen hundred chosen troops, to gall their left flank and rear. To these were joined the New Jersey militia under General Dickinson, and a party of volunteers from Pennsylvania commanded by General Cadwalader.

After the British had crossed the river and landed at Gloucester Point, they marched by the way of Had-

donfield and Mount Holly, and moved on slowly till they came to Crosswicks and Allen Town. Being encumbered with a long train of wagons and bat-horses, and confined to a single road, their line extended nearly twelve miles. It was necessary, also, to stop and build bridges over every stream and the marshy ground, as the bridges had all been destroyed by the Americans. These interruptions retarded their progress. Nor was it till he reached Allen Town, that Sir Henry Clinton decided what direction he should take from that place. It was his first purpose to proceed to the Rariton, and embark his troops at Brunswic or South Amboy for New York. But, finding Washington almost in his front, and deeming it imprudent to hazard a battle while his army was so much encumbered, and on such ground as his antagonist might choose, he turned to the right, and took the road leading to Monmouth and Sandy Hook.

At this time Washington's army had advanced to Kingston. In a council of war, convened at Hopewell, the question was again discussed, as to the mode of attacking the enemy. Sir Henry Clinton's force was supposed to consist of nine or ten thousand effective men.* The Continental troops under Washington amounted to a little over twelve thousand; and there were about thirteen hundred militia. General Lee still persisted in the same sentiments as at first; and, as he was now next in rank to the Commander-in-chief, and an officer of

* This was the estimate, but the number must have been considerably larger. The number of British troops in Philadelphia was upwards of nineteen thousand, making a difference from the estimate of more than nine thousand. There were not transports enough in Philadelphia to accommodate this number, nor does Sir Henry Clinton in his despatches mention having sent such a body of troops by water. Nor had they gone to the West Indies. The troops for that station sailed afterwards from New York.

long experience, his opinions and arguments had great weight in the council. He seemed averse to any kind of interference with the enemy; but he acceded to a proposal, in which he was joined by five others, that fifteen hundred men should be sent to hang on their rear. Six general officers, namely, Greene, Lafayette, Steuben, Wayne, Duportail, and Paterson, were for sending twenty-five hundred men, or at least two thousand, which should be followed by the main army at such a distance as to afford support, if it should be necessary. It was clearly the wish of these officers to draw the enemy into a general engagement, if it could be done under favorable circumstances. Indeed Greene, Lafayette, and Wayne declared their sentiments to this effect in writing.

Thus embarrassed with the divided opinions of his officers, Washington had a delicate part to act. There can be no doubt, however, that his own judgment strongly inclined him to seek an engagement, from the time he left Valley Forge. The reputation of the army, and the expectation of the country, in his view required it; and he believed the chances of success at least sufficient to authorize the attempt. After the council at Hopewell, therefore, he asked no further advice, but proceeded on his individual responsibility. He immediately ordered a detachment of one thousand men under General Wayne to join the troops already near the enemy, and gave to General Lafayette the command of all the advanced parties, amounting now to about three thousand eight hundred men, including militia.

In his instructions to Lafayette he said; "You are to use the most effectual means for gaining the enemy's left flank, and giving every degree of annoyance. For these purposes you will attack them as occasion may require by detachment, and, if a proper opening should be given, by operating against them with your whole

command." Foreseeing that these orders, executed with the spirit and ardor which characterized Lafayette, would soon lead to an action with a large part of the enemy's force, Washington prepared to sustain the advanced division, keeping within a distance proper for that purpose.

General Lee's seniority of rank entitled him to the command of all the advanced detachments; but, disapproving the plans of the Commander-in-chief and believing they would fail, he voluntarily yielded his claims to Lafayette. After this arrangement had been made with Washington's consent, and Lafayette had marched towards the enemy, Lee changed his mind and applied to be reinstated. As Lafayette could not with any degree of justice or propriety be recalled, Washington resorted to an expedient, which he hoped would preserve harmony, although it might not be entirely satisfactory to either of the parties. He put Lee at the head of two additional brigades, with orders to join the advanced detachments, when he would of course have the command of the whole; but directed him at the same time to give Lafayette notice of his approach, and to afford him all the assistance in his power for prosecuting any enterprise, which he might already have undertaken or planned. He wrote also to Lafayette, explaining the dilemma into which he was thrown by the vacillating conduct of General Lee, and expressing a conviction that he would cheerfully acquiesce in a measure, which the exigency of the occasion rendered necessary.

While the main army moved forward to Cranberry, and the advanced parties were hovering around the enemy's flanks and rear, Sir Henry Clinton changed the disposition of his line, placing the baggage train in front, and his best troops in the rear. With his army thus

arranged, he encamped in a strong position near Monmouth Court-House, secured on nearly all sides by woods and marshy grounds. This was his situation on the morning of the 28th of June. Washington was at this time six or seven miles distant, and, receiving intelligence at five o'clock, that the enemy's front had begun to march, he instantly put the army in motion, and sent orders to General Lee by one of his aids to move on and commence the attack, "unless there should be very powerful reasons to the contrary," acquainting him at the same time, that he should come up as soon as possible to his support.

After marching about five miles, he was surprised and mortified to learn, that the whole of Lee's division, amounting to five thousand men, was by his orders retreating, without having made any opposition except one fire from a party, which had been charged by the enemy's cavalry. The situation was the more critical and alarming, as General Lee had given no notice of his retreat, but was marching his troops into the face of the rear division, thus running the hazard of throwing all parts of the army into confusion at the moment when the enemy were pressing upon him with unimpeded force.*

* Lee had manœuvred near the enemy for some time with the apparent intention of attacking them. While thus engaged, a party of British troops moved towards his right flank, and so placed itself that Lafayette thought a fair opportunity offered for cutting it off. He rode quickly up to Lee, and asked him if an attack could not be advantageously made in that quarter. "Sir," replied Lee, "you do not know British soldiers; we cannot stand against them; we shall certainly be driven back at first, and we must be cautious." Lafayette answered, that it might be so, but British soldiers had been beaten, and it was to be presumed they might be beaten again, and at any rate he was for making the trial. Soon afterwards one of Washington's aids arrived for intelligence, and, as he was returning, Lafayette desired him to say to the General, that his presence at the scene of action was extremely important. Before this message reached him, the retreat had begun.

Washington rode immediately to the rear of the retreating division, where he found General Lee, and, accosting him with a warmth in his language and manner, which showed his disappointment and displeasure, he ordered the troops to be formed and brought into action. Lee promptly obeyed, and with some difficulty the order of battle was restored in time to check the advance of the enemy before the other division came up.

A disposition of the left wing and second line of the army was then made on an eminence, and partly in a wood, covered by a morass in front. This wing was commanded by Lord Stirling, who placed some batteries of cannon in such a manner as to play upon the enemy with great effect, and, aided by parties of infantry, to put a stop to their advance in that direction. General Greene commanded the right wing, and on the march he had been ordered to file off and take a road, which would bring him upon the enemy's flank. On hearing of the retreat he marched up and took a very advantageous position on the right. Being warmly opposed in front, the enemy attempted next to turn the American left flank, but were repulsed and driven back; and a similar movement to the right was equally unsuccessful, as they were bravely met by the troops with artillery under General Greene. In the mean time General Wayne advanced with a body of infantry, and kept up so hot and well-directed a fire upon the enemy's front, that they retired behind a marshy ravine to the ground which they had occupied at the beginning of the engagement.

In this situation both their flanks were secured by woods and morasses, and they could be approached in front only through a narrow pass. Two bodies of troops were ordered to move round and gain their

right and left, while the artillery should gall them in front. Before these movements could be effected, night came on and put an end to the action. Intending to renew the contest in the morning, Washington directed all the troops to lie upon their arms in the places where they happened to be stationed at dark. Wrapped in his cloak, he passed the night on the field of battle in the midst of his soldiers. But, when the morning dawned, no enemy was to be seen. Sir Henry Clinton had silently withdrawn his troops during the night, and followed his baggage train on the road leading to Middletown. As he would have gained commanding ground, where he might choose his own position, before he could be overtaken, and as the troops had suffered exceedingly from the intense heat of the weather and fatigue, it was not thought expedient to continue the pursuit.

This battle, though it can hardly be said to have resulted in a victory, was nevertheless honorable to the American arms, and, after the inauspicious retreat of the first division, was fought with skill and bravery. It was probably in all respects as successful as Washington had hoped. Congress passed a unanimous vote of thanks to the Commander and the army.

Four British officers and two hundred and forty-five privates were left dead on the field, and were buried by the Americans. It appeared that others were likewise buried by the enemy, making the whole number of killed nearly three hundred. The American loss was sixty-nine killed. Several soldiers on both sides are said to have died in consequence of the extreme heat of the day, and it is probable that the number of Americans reported as killed does not include all that died from this cause.

But the loss of Sir Henry Clinton in battle made but

a small part of the diminution of his army while marching through Jersey. One hundred were taken prisoners, and more than six hundred deserters arrived in Philadelphia within three weeks from the time he left it, being drawn thither chiefly by the attachments they had formed during eight months' residence in the city. Others also escaped into the country while on the march; so that the army, when it reached New York, had suffered a reduction of at least twelve hundred men.

After the action, Sir Henry Clinton proceeded to Sandy Hook, where Lord Howe's fleet, having come round from the Delaware, was in readiness to convey the troops to New York. Washington marched to Hudson's River, crossed at King's Ferry, and encamped near White Plains.

The pride of General Lee was wounded by the language, which Washington used when he met him retreating. The day after the action, Lee wrote a letter to Washington, containing expressions, which no officer could with propriety address to his superior. This was answered in a tone, that rather tended to increase than soothe his irritation, and he replied in terms still more offensive. In a subsequent note, written the same day, he requested that his case might be referred to a court-martial. He was accordingly put in arrest, under three charges; first, disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy, agreeably to repeated instructions; secondly, misbehaviour before the enemy in making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat; thirdly, disrespect to the Commander-in-chief in two letters written after the action. A court-martial was summoned, which sat from time to time for three weeks while the army was on its march; and finally declared their opinion, that General Lee was guilty of all the

charges, and sentenced him to be suspended from all command in the army of the United States for the term of twelve months. In the written opinion of the court, the second charge was modified by omitting the word "shameful"; but in all other respects the charges were allowed to be sustained by the testimony. Congress approved the sentence. General Lee left the army, and never joined it again. He died four years afterwards in Philadelphia.

Before the army crossed the Hudson, General Washington heard of the arrival of Count d'Estaing on the coast with a French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and four frigates. The admiral touched at the Capes of the Delaware, where he was informed of the evacuation of Philadelphia, and, after despatching up the river one of his frigates, on board of which was M. Gérard, the first minister from France to the United States, he sailed for Sandy Hook. No time was lost by General Washington in sending him a letter of congratulation, and proposing to coöperate with him in carrying any plans into execution, which might be concerted for attacking the enemy. Colonel Laurens, one of his aids-de-camp, was the bearer of this letter, to whom the Count was referred for such information as he might wish to obtain. When it was known that the fleet had arrived at the Hook, Colonel Hamilton, another confidential aid, was sent on board accompanied by four skilful pilots, and instructed to explain the General's views fully to Count d'Estaing.

If it should be found practicable for the French vessels to pass the bar, and engage the British fleet then at anchor within the Hook, it was supposed a simultaneous attack on the land side might be made to advantage; and indeed not without a prospect of very fortunate results, if the French should be able by a

naval victory to enter the harbour and ascend to the city. These hopes were soon dissipated by the unanimous opinion of the pilots, that there was not sufficient depth of water to admit Count d'Estaing's heavy ships over the bar, and by their refusal to take the responsibility of attempting to conduct them through the channel.

The only enterprise, that now remained, was an attack on the enemy at Rhode Island, where six thousand British troops were stationed, chiefly in garrison at Newport, and protected by a few small vessels, batteries, and strong intrenchments. The French squadron departed for that place, without being molested by Lord Howe, whose force was not such as to encourage him to go out and give battle. Anticipating the French admiral's determination, Washington prepared to lend all the aid in his power to make it effectual. General Sullivan was already in Providence, at the head of a considerable body of Continental troops; and he was ordered to apply to the States of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, for militia enough to augment his force to at least five thousand men. A detachment of two brigades marched from the main army under Lafayette, who was followed by General Greene. The events of this expedition do not fall within the limits of the present narrative. Various causes contributed to its failure, by defeating the combined action of the land and naval forces. Count d'Estaing's fleet, after leaving Newport, was so much crippled by a tremendous storm, and a partial engagement at sea, that he put in to the harbour of Boston to refit, where he remained till November.

The disagreements, which unhappily existed between the American and French officers at Rhode Island, gave the deepest concern to Washington. In a letter

to Lafayette, who had communicated the particulars, he lamented it as a misfortune, which might end in a serious injury to the public interest; and he endeavoured to assuage the rising animosity of the parties by counsels equally creditable to his feelings as a man and to his patriotism.

"I feel every thing," said he, "that hurts the sensibility of a gentleman, and consequently upon the present occasion I feel for you and for our good and great allies the French. I feel myself hurt, also, at every illiberal and unthinking reflection, which may have been cast upon the Count d'Estaing, or the conduct of the fleet under his command; and lastly, I feel for my country. Let me entreat you, therefore, my dear Marquis, to take no exception at unmeaning expressions, uttered perhaps without consideration, and in the first transport of disappointed hope. Everybody, Sir, who reasons, will acknowledge the advantages which we have derived from the French fleet, and the zeal of the commander of it; but, in a free and republican government, you cannot restrain the voice of the multitude. Every man will speak as he thinks, or, more properly, without thinking, and consequently will judge of effects without attending to the causes. The censures, which have been levelled at the officers of the French fleet, would more than probably have fallen in a much higher degree upon a fleet of our own, if we had one in the same situation. It is the nature of man to be displeased with every thing, that disappoints a favorite hope or flattering project; and it is the folly of too many of them to condemn without investigating circumstances.

"Let me beseech you therefore, my good Sir, to afford a healing hand to the wound, that unintentionally has been made. America esteems your virtues and

your services, and admires the principles upon which you act. Your countrymen in our army look up to you as their patron. The Count and his officers consider you as a man high in rank, and high in estimation here and also in France; and I, your friend, have no doubt but you will use your utmost endeavours to restore harmony, that the honor, glory, and mutual interest of the two nations may be promoted and cemented in the firmest manner."

To Count d'Estaing he wrote in language not less delicate and conciliatory, nor less fitted to remove unfavorable impressions.

In compliance with the order from the ministry given early in the season, Sir Henry Clinton detached five thousand men to the West Indies and three thousand to Florida; but there was much delay in fitting out these expeditions, and the troops did not actually sail till near the end of October. Lord Howe's fleet in the mean time had been reinforced by a squadron from Europe. As neither the orders nor the plans of the British general were known, it was conjectured that he might have in view a stroke upon Count d'Estaing's fleet in Boston harbour, and perhaps an attack upon that town. It is probable, also, that General Clinton gave a currency to rumors of this sort, for the purpose of diverting the attention of the Americans from his real objects. A report gained credit, believed to have come from good authority, that New York was to be evacuated. Washington suspected the true origin of this rumor, and could not persuade himself that an eastern expedition was intended; yet the public impression and the conviction of some of his officers were so strong, as to its reality, that he took measures to guard against it.

He established his head-quarters at Fredericksburg,

thirty miles from West Point near the borders of Connecticut, and sent forward a division under General Gates to Danbury. The roads were repaired as far as Hartford, to facilitate the march of the troops, and three brigades were despatched to that place. General Gates went to Boston, and took command of the eastern department, as successor to General Heath. These operations kept the army employed on the east side of the Hudson more than four months, till it was finally ascertained that the enemy had no designs in that direction.

Sir Henry Clinton took care to profit by this diversion of the American army. Foraging parties passed over to New Jersey, and ravaged the country. One of these parties attacked Baylor's dragoons in the night, at a short distance from Tappan, rushing upon them with the bayonet and committing indiscriminate slaughter. A similar assault was made upon Pulaski's legion at Egg Harbour. Both these adventures were attended with such acts of cruelty on the part of the enemy, as are seldom practised in civilized warfare. And they were not less impolitic than cruel, being regarded with universal indignation and horror by the people, and exciting a spirit of hatred and revenge, which would necessarily react in one form or another upon their foes. In fact this point of policy was strangely misunderstood by the British, or more strangely perverted, at every stage of the contest. They had many friends in the country, whom it was their interest to retain, and they professed a desire to conciliate others; yet they burned and destroyed towns, villages, and detached farm-houses, plundered the inhabitants without distinction, and brought down the savages with the tomahawk and scalping-knife upon the defenceless frontier settlements, marking their course in every direction with murder,

desolation, and ruin. The ministry approved and encouraged these atrocities, flattering themselves that the people would sink under their sufferings, bewail their unhappy condition, become tired of the war, and compel their leaders to seek an accommodation. The effect was directly the contrary in every instance. The people knew their rights, and had the common feelings of humanity; and, when the former were wantonly invaded and the latter outraged, it was natural that their passions should be inflamed, and that they who were at first pacifically inclined should be roused to resistance and retaliation. If the British cabinet had aimed to defeat its own objects, and to consolidate the American people into a united phalanx of opposition, it could not have chosen or pursued more effectual methods.

The campaign being closed, General Washington prepared to put the army into winter-quarters. Nine brigades were stationed on the west side of Hudson's River, exclusive of the garrison at West Point. One of these was near Smith's Clove, where it could serve as a reinforcement to West Point, should this be necessary; one at Elizabethtown; and the other seven at Middlebrook, which place was likewise selected for head-quarters. Six brigades were cantoned on the east side of the Hudson and at West Point, as follows; one at West Point, two at the Continental Village, a post between Fishkill and West Point, and three in the vicinity of Danbury in Connecticut. The artillery was at Pluckemin. A line of cantonments was thus formed around New York from Long Island Sound to the Delaware, so disposed as to afford security to the country, and to reinforce each other in case of an excursion of the enemy to any particular point. The other important objects intended by this disposition

were the comfort, discipline, and easy subsistence of the troops. General Putnam commanded at Danbury, and General M^c^Dougall in the Highlands. In the expectation that the British detachments, which sailed from New York, might act in the winter against South Carolina and Georgia, General Lincoln was sent by order of Congress to take the command of the southern department.

The four regiments of cavalry were widely separated; one being at Winchester in Virginia, another at Frederic in Maryland, a third at Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and a fourth at Durham in Connecticut. These cantonments were chosen apparently with a view to the convenience of procuring forage.

The exchange of prisoners continued to be a troublesome and perplexing subject. Arrangements had been made with Sir William Howe, before he left Philadelphia, by which exchanges to a certain extent had been effected. But new difficulties arose in regard to what were called the Convention Troops. Although Congress had ratified the convention of Saratoga, yet for various reasons they did not permit Burgoyne's army to embark for Europe according to the terms of that convention. Washington had no concern with this affair, except to execute the orders of Congress. These troops being thus retained in the country, it was finally agreed, on the part of the British commander, that they should be exchanged for American prisoners in his hands. But the conditions prescribed by Congress were such, that it was a long time before the object was attained. They proposed that officers of equal rank should first be exchanged; next, superior officers for an equivalent number of inferior; and if, after all the officers of the enemy should be exchanged, there should still be a surplus of American officers among the pris-

oners, they were to be exchanged for an equivalent number of privates of the convention troops.

This principle was objected to by Sir Henry Clinton on two grounds; first, it separated the officers from the corps to which they were attached; and, secondly, it gave an advantage to the Americans, inasmuch as their officers could go immediately into active service, whereas the British officers must remain idle till the privates constituting the corps to which they belonged should be released. Congress did not choose to relax from their resolves, and the business of exchange was a perpetual source of vexation. In short, the interests of the two parties were so much at variance, that it was not easy to reconcile them. The difficulty of procuring soldiers in Europe, and the great expense of bringing them over and maintaining them, rendered every man of vastly more importance to the British army, than in the American ranks, which could be filled up with militia when the occasion required. Hence the British general was always extremely solicitous to procure the exchange of his private soldiers, and Congress equally averse to gratifying him in this point. There was another reason, which operated with considerable weight on both sides. The British prisoners were mostly German troops, who had no affection for the cause in which they were engaged, and who, while in the country under a loose system of military discipline, had many facilities and temptations to desert.

There was another cause of anxiety in the breast of Washington, which began now to be felt more seriously than at any former period of the war. The men of talents and influence, who had taken the lead and combined their strength in raising the standard of independence, had gradually withdrawn from Congress, till that body was left small in number, and compara-

tively feeble in counsels and resource. For the year past, the number of delegates present had seldom averaged over thirty, and sometimes it was under twenty-five. Whole States were frequently unrepresented; and indeed it was seldom, that every State was so fully represented as to entitle it to a vote. And at no time were private jealousies and party feuds more rife or mischievous in their effects. These symptoms were alarming to every true friend of his country, who reflected on their tendency, and they filled the mind of Washington with deep concern. To those, in whom he had confidence, he laid open his fears, and endeavoured to awaken a sense of the public danger. His sentiments and his apprehensions are forcibly expressed in a letter to Mr. Benjamin Harrison of Virginia.

"It appears as clear to me," he said, "as ever the sun did in its meridian brightness, that America never stood in more eminent need of the wise, patriotic, and spirited exertions of her sons than at this period; and, if it is not a sufficient cause for general lamentation, my misconception of the matter impresses it too strongly upon me, that the States, separately, are too much engaged in their local concerns, and have too many of their ablest men withdrawn from the general council, for the good of the common weal. In a word, I think our political system may be compared to the mechanism of a clock, and that we should derive a lesson from it; for it answers no good purpose to keep the smaller wheels in order, if the greater one, which is the support and prime mover of the whole, is neglected.

"How far the latter is the case, it does not become me to pronounce; but, as there can be no harm in a pious wish for the good of one's country, I shall offer it as mine, that each State would not only choose, but absolutely compel their ablest men to attend Congress;

and that they would instruct them to go into a thorough investigation of the causes that have produced so many disagreeable effects in the army and country; in a word, that public abuses should be corrected. Without this, it does not in my judgment require the spirit of divination to foretell the consequences of the present administration; nor to how little purpose the States individually are framing constitutions, providing laws, and filling offices with the abilities of their ablest men. These, if the great whole is mismanaged, must sink in the general wreck, which will carry with it the remorse of thinking that we are lost by our own folly and negligence, or by the desire perhaps of living in ease and tranquillity during the expected accomplishment of so great a revolution, in the effecting of which the greatest abilities, and the most honest men, our American world affords, ought to be employed.

"It is much to be feared, my dear Sir, that the States, in their separate capacities, have very inadequate ideas of the present danger. Many persons, removed far distant from the scene of action, and seeing and hearing such publications only, as flatter their wishes, conceive that the contest is at an end, and that to regulate the government and police of their own State is all that remains to be done; but it is devoutly to be wished, that a sad reverse of this may not fall upon them like a thunder-clap, that is little expected. I do not mean to designate particular States. I wish to cast no reflections upon any one. The public believe (and, if they do *believe* it, the fact might almost as well be so), that the States at this time are badly represented, and that the great and important concerns of the nation are horribly conducted, for want either of abilities or application in the members, or through the discord and party views of some individuals. That they should be

so, is to be lamented more at this time than formerly, as we are far advanced in the dispute, and, in the opinion of many, drawing to a happy period; we have the eyes of Europe upon us, and I am persuaded many political spies to watch, who discover our situation and give information of our weaknesses and wants."

The conquest of Canada was always a favorite project with Congress; and at this time, when the British forces were divided by being employed against the French in the West Indies, it was thought that a good opportunity offered itself for turning the arms of the United States against that province. After the termination of the affair at Long Island, the Marquis de Lafayette went to Philadelphia, and obtained a furlough from Congress, with the intention of returning to France on a short visit. In concert with him a plan was formed of an attack on Canada, which was to be the principal object of the ensuing campaign, and the basis of which was a coöperation with a French fleet and army. Lafayette was to have full instructions for arranging the matter with the court of Versailles, aided by the counsel and support of Dr. Franklin, then the American plenipotentiary in France.

The plan was on a very large scale. Attacks were to be made by the American army at three points far distant from each other, namely, Detroit, Niagara, and by way of the Connecticut River; while a French fleet should ascend the St. Lawrence, with four or five thousand troops, and act against Quebec. The scheme was discussed, matured, and approved with much unanimity in Congress, and then sent to Washington with the request that he would communicate his sentiments. He replied in a long despatch, entering minutely into the subject, and showing that the plan was impracticable; that it required resources in troops and money,

which were not to be had; that it would involve Congress in engagements to their ally, which it would be impossible to fulfil; and that it was in itself so extensive and complicated, as to hold out no reasonable hope of success, even with all the requisite means of pursuing it.

Such was his opinion in a military view. But the subject presented itself to him in another aspect, in which he thought it deserved special consideration. Canada formerly belonged to France, and had been severed from her in a manner, which, if not humiliating to her pride, contributed nothing to her glory. Would she not be eager to recover this lost province? If it should be conquered with her aid, would she not claim it at the peace as rightfully belonging to her, and be able to advance plausible reasons for such a demand? Would not the acquisition itself hold out a strong temptation? The territory abounded in supplies for the use of her Islands, it opened a wide field of commerce with the Indian nations, it would give her the command of posts on this continent independent of the precarious good will of an ally, it would put her in a condition to engross the whole trade of Newfoundland, and above all, it would afford her facilities for awing and controlling the United States, "the natural and most formidable rival of every maritime power in Europe." He added, "France, acknowledged for some time past the most powerful monarchy in Europe by land, able now to dispute the empire of the sea with Great Britain, and, if joined with Spain, I may say, certainly superior, possessed of New Orleans on our right, Canada on our left, and seconded by the numerous tribes of Indians in our rear from one extremity to the other, a people so generally friendly to her, and whom she knows so well how to conciliate, would, it is much to

be apprehended, have it in her power to give law to these States."

These sentiments, he said, did not grow out of any distrust of the good faith of France in the alliance she had formed. On the contrary, he was willing to entertain and cherish the most favorable impressions, in regard to her motives and aims. "But," he added again, "it is a maxim, founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it. In our circumstances we ought to be particularly cautious; for we have not yet attained sufficient vigor and maturity to recover from the shock of any false step, into which we may unwarily fall. If France should even engage in the scheme, in the first instance, with the purest intentions, there is the greatest danger, that, in the progress of the business, invited to it by circumstances, and perhaps urged on by the solicitations and wishes of the Canadians, she would alter her views." In short, allowing all his apprehensions to be unfounded, he was still reluctant to multiply national obligations, or to give to any foreign power claims of merit for services performed beyond what was absolutely indispensable.

The observations and reasonings of the Commander-in-chief were so far operative on Congress, as to induce them at once to narrow their scheme, though not entirely to give it up. They participated in the general opinion, that the war with France would necessarily employ the British fleet and troops in other parts of the world, and that they would soon evacuate the towns on the seacoast of the United States. In this event, they thought an expedition against Canada should still be the object of the campaign, and that preparations

should accordingly be made. They requested General Washington to write to Dr. Franklin, and the Marquis de Lafayette, who was then at Boston, ready to depart for Europe, and state to them such details as might be laid before the French court, in order that eventual measures might be taken for coöperation in case an armament should be sent to Quebec from France. The plan in this shape, however, was not more satisfactory to him, than in its original form. He saw no reason for supposing the British would evacuate the States, and he believed a system of operations built upon that basis would fail. At any rate he was not prepared to hazard the responsibility of drawing the French government into a measure so full of uncertainty, and depending on so many contingencies.

The army being now in winter-quarters, and his presence with it not being essential, he suggested the expediency of a personal interview with the members of Congress, in which his sentiments could be more fully explained than by writing. This proposition was approved. He arrived in Philadelphia on the 24th of December, and, after several discussions between him and a committee of Congress, the Canada scheme was wholly laid aside.

It is a remarkable fact, as connected with the above suspicions on political grounds, that the French government was decidedly opposed to an expedition against Canada. The French minister in the United States was instructed, before he left France, not to favor any projects of conquest; and it was the policy of the court of Versailles, that Canada and Nova Scotia should remain in the power of Great Britain. The reasons for this policy may not be obvious; but the fact is unquestionable. It is to be considered, however, that France had by treaty pledged herself to carry on

the war, till the independence of the United States should be secured; but she had not engaged to fight for conquests, nor for the extension of the territories of the United States beyond their original limits. Such an engagement would have bound her to continue the war indefinitely, with no other object than to gratify the ambition or enmity of her ally, while every motive of interest and of national honor might prompt her to seek for peace. It was evident, too, that the pride of England, humbled by conceding the independence of her revolted colonies, would never brook the severance of her other provinces by the direct agency of France. All conquests thus made, therefore, would perplex the negotiations for peace, and might involve France in a protracted war, without the least prospect of advantage to herself. Hence she resolved to adhere strictly to her pledge in the treaty of alliance. But, although the French minister in America was instructed not to hold out encouragement of coöperation in plans of conquest, yet he was at the same time directed not to throw any obstacles in the way; thus leaving the United States to decide and act for themselves. Should they gain conquests by their own strength, these might reasonably be claimed by them in a treaty of peace, without embarrassing the relations between France and England.

CHAPTER XII.

Conferences with a Committee of Congress, and Plans for the next Campaign. — Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians. — The Enemy commence a predatory Warfare. — The Burning of New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk. — Stony Point stormed and taken. — Successful Enterprise against Paulus Hook. — Washington's Interviews with the French Minister. — Plans proposed for coöperating with Count d'Estaing. — The Army goes into Winter-quarters. — Depreciation of the Currency, and its Effects. — Arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette, with the Intelligence that a French Armament was on its Way to the United States. — The Army takes a Position near Hudson's River. — The French Squadron arrives at Newport. — Count de Rochambeau's Instructions. — French Fleet blockaded. — Interview between General Washington and the French Commander at Hartford. — The Treason of Arnold. — Plans for attacking New York.

General Washington remained in Philadelphia about five weeks, holding conferences with a committee of Congress, and making arrangements for the campaign of 1779. He suggested three plans, with remarks on the mode of executing them, and the probable result of each. The first plan had in view an attempt to drive the enemy from their posts on the seacoast; the second, an attack on Niagara, and an offensive position in that quarter; and, by the third, it was proposed to hold the army entirely on the defensive, except such operations as would be necessary to chastise the Indians, who had committed depredations on the frontiers during the past year, and who, emboldened by success, might be expected to repeat their ravages.

After mature deliberation, and taking into the account the exhausted state of the country in regard both to pecuniary resources and supplies for an army, it was decided to adopt the third plan as the best suited to circumstances, the least expensive, and perhaps the

most beneficial in its ultimate effects. It would afford an opportunity to retrench the heavy charges of the war, and to pursue a system of economy imperiously demanded by the financial embarrassments in which Congress had become involved, and thus enable them to do something for the relief of public credit, and for restoring the value of the currency, which was fast sinking into disrepute, unsettling prices, and threatening ruin to almost every branch of industry. It would also give repose to the country, and, by leaving a larger number of laborers to cultivate the soil, contribute to increase the supplies so much wanted for the comfort of the people, as well as for the subsistence of the army.

This plan had its disadvantages. The inactivity in military operations might be thought to imply weakness, and thus injure the credit of the nation with foreign powers, dispirit the people at home, give confidence to the disaffected, and afford leisure for the factious and discontented to foment divisions. These inconveniences were, nevertheless, in the opinion of General Washington, more than balanced by other considerations; and he recommended the defensive system, preferring what he deemed the greatest public good to the glory that might be acquired by large military enterprises, even with a fair prospect of success. After the alliance with France, and especially after the indications given by Spain of an approaching war between that power and England, he had no doubt that the independence of the United States would be secured at the peace, whenever it should happen. It was evident, moreover, that England, being thus employed by her European foes, could not enlarge her army to a formidable extent in America. In his view, therefore, it was not expedient to exhaust the country and multiply the

calamities of war by extraordinary exactions for military undertakings, which, although they might annoy the enemy and perhaps drive them from one post to another, could not hasten the desired end, depending as it now did mainly on events beyond the control of the United States. By an ambitious chieftain, aiming only to aggrandize himself and establish his power, the subject might have been regarded in a different light; but the designs and actions of Washington centred in nobler objects, the freedom, tranquillity, and happiness of his country, in which he was to participate equally with every other citizen, neither seeking nor expecting any other preëminence than that of having been an instrument in the hand of Providence for effecting so great a good in so just a cause, nor any other reward than the consciousness of having done his duty, and the enjoyment in common with his countrymen of the benefits flowing from his services.

Having completed all the necessary arrangements with Congress, he returned to head-quarters at Middlebrook. The infantry of the Continental army was organized for the campaign in eighty-eight battalions, apportioned to the several States according to the ratio hitherto assumed. There were four regiments of cavalry and forty-nine companies of artillery.

As the term of service, for which a large number of the troops had been engaged, would expire in a few weeks, the business of recruiting was begun without delay. The irregular, and in some cases enormous, bounties given by the States had operated in such a manner, as almost to defeat any attempt to enlist soldiers in camp. Even those, who intended to reënlist, were lured away by the prospect of State bounties, and were thus absent from the army till they could go home and come back with the new recruits. This evil was

partially remedied by a resolve of Congress, making it the business of each State to fill up its quota and pay the bounties, giving credit to such State for the Continental bounty of every soldier enlisted in its quota. Whether the soldier was enlisted in camp or at home, the same rule applied, so that it equalized the bounties throughout the line of a particular State. But the States themselves gave various bounties, causing an inequality among the different lines; and for this there was no remedy, except a uniform system in all the States, which was never pursued. The Continental bounty was raised to two hundred dollars, besides land and clothing; and in several instances the State bounty was much larger. The value of labor had risen so much during the war, partly from an increased demand, and partly from the depreciation of the currency, that a soldier could obtain, in almost any other service, higher wages than the amount of his pay and bounty in the army.

The objects of the campaign not requiring so large a number of men in the field as on former occasions, it was intended to bestow the more attention upon their discipline and practical skill. Baron Steuben, trained in the wars and under the eye of Frederic the Great, had been appointed inspector-general of the army the year before. He wrote a system of tactics, which was published, adopted, and put in practice. His services were of great importance, both as an experienced officer, and as a successful teacher of his system, by which the discipline of the army was much improved, and the discordant exercises and evolutions of the troops from different States were reduced to method and uniformity.

The winter and the spring passed away without the occurrence of any remarkable event. The British re-

mained within their lines at New York, showing no disposition for hazardous adventures, and apparently making no preparation for any enterprise of magnitude into the country.

General Washington in the mean time turned his thoughts to the fitting out of an expedition against the Indians. The confederated Indians of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas and a few of the Mohawks, influenced by Sir John Johnson and British agents from Canada, became hostile to the United States, although at first they pretended to a sort of neutrality. Joined by a band of Tories, and persons of abandoned principles collected from various parts, they fell upon the frontier settlements, and waged the most cruel and destructive war against the defenceless and unoffending inhabitants. The massacres at Cherry Valley and Wyoming had filled every breast with horror, and humanity cried aloud for vengeance on the perpetrators of such deeds of atrocity. To break up these hordes of banditti, or at all events to drive them back and lay waste their territories, was the object of the expedition.

Four thousand Continental troops were detached for the purpose, who were joined by militia from the State of New York and independent companies from Pennsylvania. The command of the whole was given to General Sullivan. Three thousand men rendezvoused at Wyoming, where General Sullivan first established his head-quarters, and from which place he proceeded up the Susquehanna River into the Indian country. At the same time General James Clinton advanced with another division from the Mohawk River, by way of Otsego Lake and the east branch of the Susquehanna, and formed a junction with Sullivan near the fork, where the two main branches of the river unite. The army, then amounting to about five thousand men

including militia, marched into the wilderness towards the Indian settlements. It was met and opposed by a body of Tories and Indians, who were soon routed and driven back. There was no other encounter, except slight skirmishes with small parties. Sullivan pursued a circuitous route as far as the Genesee River, destroying all the villages, houses, corn, and provisions, which fell in his way. Every habitation was deserted, the Indians having retired with their families to the neighbourhood of Niagara, where they were protected and supplied by a British garrison. The purpose of the expedition being attained, the army retraced its steps down the Susquehanna to Wyoming, and arrived there after an absence of a little more than two months.

Sir Henry Clinton early in the spring sent a detachment of two thousand five hundred men to Virginia, commanded by General Mathews. They landed at Portsmouth, sacked the town, marched to Suffolk, destroyed a magazine of provisions in that place, burnt the village and several detached private houses, and seized large quantities of tobacco. Many vessels were likewise captured, others were burnt and sunk, and much plunder was taken. With this booty they returned to New York. The enterprise was executed in conformity with orders from the ministry, who, after the ill success of their commissioners, had adopted the policy of a predatory warfare on the seacoast, with the design of destroying the towns, ships, and magazines, conceiving, as expressed by Lord George Germain, "that a war of this sort, carried on with spirit and humanity, would probably induce the rebellious provinces to return to their allegiance, or at least prevent their sending out that swarm of privateers, the success of which had encouraged them to persevere in their revolt."

When the squadron returned from Virginia, it was immediately joined by other vessels having on board a large body of troops, all of which sailed up Hudson's River. This expedition was conducted by Sir Henry Clinton in person, and his first object was to take the posts at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, situate on opposite sides of the Hudson, where the Americans had thrown up works to protect King's Ferry, the main channel of communication between the eastern and middle States. Should circumstances favor so bold an experiment, he intended next to endeavour to force his way into the Highlands, make himself master of the fortifications and strong passes, and thus secure the command of the Hudson.

Being informed of the preparations in New York, and penetrating the designs of the British commander, Washington was at hand in time to prevent the execution of the second part of the scheme. By rapid marches he drew his troops from their cantonments in New Jersey, and placed them in such positions as to discourage Sir Henry Clinton from attempting any thing further, than the capture of the two posts above mentioned, which were in no condition to resist a formidable fleet and an army of more than six thousand men. After this event, which happened on the 1st of June, Clinton withdrew his forces down the river, and at length to New York, leaving a strong garrison at each of the posts, with orders to extend and complete the works begun by the Americans; and also directing such a number of armed vessels and boats to remain there, as would be necessary to furnish supplies and contribute to their defence.

General Washington removed his head-quarters to New Windsor, a few miles above West Point, distributing his army chiefly in and near the Highlands, but

stationing a force on each side of the river below, sufficient to check any sudden incursion of the enemy.

The system of devastation and plunder was vigorously pursued. About the beginning of July a detachment of two thousand six hundred men, under Governor Tryon, sailed from New York into Long Island Sound. They first landed at New Haven, plundered the inhabitants indiscriminately, and burnt the stores on the wharfs. This being done, they embarked, and landed at Fairfield and Norwalk, which towns were reduced to ashes. Dwelling-houses, shops, churches, school-houses, and the shipping in the harbours, were destroyed. The soldiers pillaged without restraint, committing acts of violence, and exhibiting the horrors of war in some of their most revolting forms. It does not appear that there were troops, magazines, or public property in either of the towns. The waste and distress fell on individuals, who were pursuing the ordinary occupations of life. The people rallied in self-defence, and a few were killed; but the enemy retired to their vessels before the militia could assemble in large numbers.

The British commander hoped that this invasion of Connecticut would draw away the American army from the Highlands to a position where he might bring on an engagement under favorable circumstances. Washington's habitual caution guarded him against allowing such an advantage. On the contrary, while the enemy's forces were thus divided, he resolved to attack the strong post at Stony Point. "The necessity of doing something to satisfy the expectations of the people and reconcile them to the defensive plan, which he was obliged to pursue, the value of the acquisition in itself, with respect to the men, artillery, and stores, which composed the garrison, the effect it would have

upon the successive operations of the campaign, and the check it would give to the depredations of the enemy," were, as he said, the motives which prompted him to this undertaking. He reconnoitred the post himself, and instructed Major Henry Lee, who was stationed near it with a party of cavalry, to gain all the information in his power as to the condition of the works and the strength of the garrison.

The enterprise was intrusted to General Wayne, who commanded a body of light infantry in advance of the main army, where he was placed to watch the movements of the enemy, to prevent their landing, and to attack separate parties whenever opportunities should offer. Having procured all the requisite information, and determined to make the assault, Washington communicated general instructions to Wayne in writing and conversation, leaving the rest to the well-tried bravery and skill of that gallant officer.

The night of the 15th July was fixed on for the attack. After a march of fourteen miles during the afternoon, the party arrived within a mile and a half of the enemy at eight o'clock in the evening. The works were then reconnoitred by the commander and the principal officers, and at half past eleven the whole moved forward in two columns to the assault. The van of the right column consisted of one hundred and fifty volunteers with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, preceded by twenty picked men to remove the *abatis* and other obstructions. One hundred volunteers, preceded likewise by twenty men, composed the van of the left. Positive orders were given not to fire, but to rely wholly on the bayonet, which orders were faithfully obeyed. A deep morass in front of the enemy's works, and a double row of *abatis*, retarded their progress; but these obstacles were soon overcome by the ardor of

the troops, and the assault began about twenty minutes after twelve. From that time they pushed forward in the face of a tremendous fire of musketry and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, and both columns met in the centre of the enemy's works, each arriving nearly at the same instant. General Wayne, who advanced with the right column, received a slight wound in the head, and was supported into the works by his aids-de-camp.

The assault was successful in all its parts. The number of prisoners was five hundred and forty-three, and the number killed on the side of the enemy was sixty-three. Of the assailing party fifteen were killed, and eighty-three wounded. Several cannons and mortars of various sizes, a large number of muskets, shells, shot, and tents, and a proportional quantity of stores, were taken. The action is allowed to have been one of the most brilliant of the revolution. Congress passed resolves complimentary to the officers and privates, granting specific rewards, and directing the value of all the military stores taken in the garrison to be divided among the troops in proportion to the pay of the officers and men. Three different medals were ordered to be struck, emblematical of the action, and awarded respectively to General Wayne, Colonel Fleury, and Colonel Stewart. Congress also passed a vote of thanks to General Washington "for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity, with which he had conducted the military operations of the States," and especially as manifested in his orders for the late attack.

It was his first intention, if the storming of Stony Point should prove successful, to make an immediate attempt against Verplanck's Point, on the opposite side of the river. For this purpose he had requested General Wayne to forward the intelligence to head-quarters

through the hands of General McDougall, who commanded at West Point, and who would be in readiness to send down a detachment by the way of Peekskill to attack Verplanck's Point on the land side, while it was cannonaded from Stony Point across the river. By some misunderstanding, the messenger neglected to call at West Point, and thus several hours were lost before General McDougall received the intelligence. To this delay has been ascribed the failure of the undertaking against Verplanck's Point. From the letters of General McDougall and other officers written at the time, however, it is evident that the want of horses and conveniences for the transportation of artillery was such, as to render it impossible in any event to arrive at Verplanck's Point with the adequate means of assault, before the enemy had assembled a sufficient force to give entire security to the garrison.

When Washington examined Stony Point after the capture, he resolved to evacuate the post, remove the cannon and stores, and destroy the works. Being accessible by the enemy's vessels of war, a larger number of men would be required for the defence than could properly be spared from the main army; and at the same time it might be necessary to hazard a general action, which was by no means to be desired on such terms as would be imposed, and for such an object. Every thing was brought off, except one heavy cannon. The enemy afterwards reoccupied the post, and repaired the works.

About a month after the storming of Stony Point, another enterprise similar in its character, and not less daring, was executed by Major Henry Lee. At the head of three hundred men, and a troop of dismounted dragoons, he surprised the enemy's post at Paulus Hook, opposite to New York, and took one hundred

and fifty-nine prisoners, having two only of his party killed and three wounded. The plan originated with Major Lee, and great praise was bestowed upon him for the address and bravery with which it was executed. A medal of gold, commemorative of the event, was ordered by Congress to be struck and presented to him.

No other events of much importance happened in the army under Washington's immediate command during the campaign. The British troops remained inactive at New York, and the Americans held their ground in the Highlands. In the course of this year the works at West Point and in its vicinity were chiefly constructed. A part of the time two thousand five hundred men were on fatigue duty every day. Before the end of July the head-quarters of the Commander-in-chief were removed to West Point, where he continued for the rest of the season.

As few incidents of a personal nature intervene to vary the monotony of military operations, and of the great public affairs which occupied the thoughts of Washington, it may not be amiss to insert here a letter inviting a friend to dine with him at head-quarters. It gives an idea of the manner in which he lived, and shows that he could sometimes be playful, even when oppressed with public cares, and in the midst of the harassing duties of his command. The letter is addressed to Dr. Cochran, surgeon-general in the army, and dated at West Point on the 16th of August.

"Dear Doctor,

"I have asked Mrs. Cochran and Mrs. Livingston to dine with me to-morrow; but am I not in honor bound to apprize them of their fare? As I hate deception, even where the imagination only is concerned, I will. It is needless to premise, that my table is large enough to hold the ladies. Of this they had ocular proof yes-

terday. To say how it is usually covered, is rather more essential; and this shall be the purport of my letter.

"Since our arrival at this happy spot, we have had a ham, sometimes a shoulder of bacon, to grace the head of the table; a piece of roast beef adorns the foot; and a dish of beans, or greens, almost imperceptible, decorates the centre. When the cook has a mind to cut a figure, which I presume will be the case to-morrow, we have two beef-steak pies, or dishes of crabs, in addition, one on each side of the centre-dish, dividing the space and reducing the distance between dish and dish to about six feet, which without them would be near twelve feet apart. Of late he has had the surprising sagacity to discover, that apples will make pies; and it is a question, if, in the violence of his efforts, we do not get one of apples, instead of having both of beef-steaks. If the ladies can put up with such entertainment, and will submit to partake of it on plates, once tin but now iron (not become so by the labor of scouring), I shall be happy to see them; and am, dear Doctor, yours."

Sir Henry Clinton, disappointed in not receiving additions to his army from Europe, began to be weary of his situation, and to despair of effecting any thing that would either redound to the glory of the British arms, or answer the expectations of his employers. On the 21st of August he said, in a letter to Lord George Germain, "I now find myself obliged by many cogent reasons to abandon every view of making an effort in this quarter. The precautions, which General Washington has had leisure to take, make me hopeless of bringing him to a general action, and the season dissuades me strongly from losing time in the attempt." He informs the minister, that his thoughts are turned to

the south, that he shall put New York in a complete state of defence, withdraw his troops from the posts on the Hudson, and sail for South Carolina with a large part of his army as soon as the season will permit him to act in that climate.

After Count d'Estaing left the harbour of Boston, he proceeded to the West Indies, where he operated during the winter, took St. Vincent and Grenada, and had a naval engagement with Admiral Byron's fleet. It was expected, that he would return to the United States in the course of the summer, and M. Gérard, the French minister in Philadelphia, held several conferences with a committee of Congress respecting a concerted plan of action between the French squadron and the American forces. For the same object M. Gérard went to camp, and held interviews with the Commander-in-chief, to whom Congress delegated the power of arranging and executing the whole business, in such a manner as his judgment and prudence should dictate. Various plans were suggested and partly matured; but, as the unfortunate repulse of the French and American troops in their assault on Savannah, and the subsequent departure of Count d'Estaing from the coast, prevented their being carried into execution, they need not be explained in this place.

The intercourse with Washington on this occasion left favorable impressions on the mind of the French minister. In a letter to Count de Vergennes, written from camp, he said; "I have had many conversations with General Washington, some of which have continued for three hours. It is impossible for me briefly to communicate the fund of intelligence, which I have derived from him; but I shall do it in my letters as occasions shall present themselves. I will now say only, that I have formed as high an opinion of the

powers of his mind, his moderation, his patriotism, and his virtues, as I had before from common report conceived of his military talents and of the incalculable services he has rendered to his country." The same sentiments were often repeated by the successor of M. Gérard, and contributed to establish the unbounded confidence, which the French government placed in the American commander during the war.

Although the plans of coöperation failed, yet they were serviceable in embarrassing the schemes of the enemy. As soon as it was known that Count d'Estaing had arrived in Georgia, Sir Henry Clinton naturally supposed that he would proceed northward, and unite with Washington in a combined attack on New York. Alarmed for his safety in such an event, he caused Rhode Island to be evacuated, and drew to New York the garrison, which had been stationed nearly three years at that place, consisting at times of about six thousand men. Stony Point and Verplanck's Point were likewise evacuated. The appearance of Count d'Estaing's fleet on the coast retarded Sir Henry Clinton's southern expedition till near the end of December, when, having received reinforcements from Europe, he embarked about seven thousand troops, and sailed for South Carolina under the convoy of Admiral Arbuthnot.

The campaign being now at an end, the army was again put into winter-quarters, the main body in the neighbourhood of Morristown, strong detachments at West Point and other posts near the Hudson, and the cavalry in Connecticut. The head-quarters were at Morristown. The ill success of the allied arms at Savannah, and the indications of Sir Henry Clinton's designs against South Carolina, were reasons for sending more troops to General Lincoln's army; and before the middle of December two of the North Carolina

regiments and the whole of the Virginia line marched to the south.

The winter set in with so much severity, that the channels of transportation were closed, and the troops were reduced to the greatest distress for the want of provisions. In this extremity, it was necessary to levy supplies upon the inhabitants, and send out officers to collect them. By their instructions, these officers were first to call on the magistrates, and solicit their aid in procuring provisions of grain and cattle, and in apportioning to each person such a quantity as he could spare without injury to his family. Certificates were then to be given, specifying the quantity, leaving it optional with the owner to fix the price by a fair valuation on the spot, or to receive the market price at the time the certificates should be paid. If this plan proved unsuccessful, the officers were to proceed according to the usual method of military impressments. There was no occasion, however, for this latter measure. By the zeal and activity of the magistrates, coöperating with the good disposition of the inhabitants, a sufficient quantity of voluntary supplies was soon brought to the camp.

A descent upon Staten Island by a party under Lord Stirling, a retaliatory incursion of the enemy into New Jersey at Elizabethtown, and a skirmish near White Plains, were the only military events during the winter.

The army for the campaign in 1780 was nominally fixed by Congress at thirty-five thousand two hundred and eleven men. Each State was required to furnish its quota by the first day of April. No definite plan was adopted for the campaign, as the operations must depend on circumstances and the strength and condition of the enemy.

One of the greatest evils which now afflicted the country, and which threatened the most alarming con-

sequences, was the depreciation of the currency. Destitute of pecuniary resources, and without the power of imposing direct taxes, Congress had, early in the war, resorted to the expedient of paper money. For a time, while the quantity was comparatively small, its credit was good; but in March, 1780, the enormous amount of two hundred millions of dollars had been issued, no part of which had been redeemed. At this time forty paper dollars were worth only one in specie. Prices rose as the money sank in value, and every branch of trade was unsettled and deranged. The effect was peculiarly oppressive on the troops, and was a principal reason for the exorbitant bounties allowed to them in the latter years of the war. The separate States likewise issued paper money, which increased the evil, without affording any adequate relief. The only remedy was taxation; but this was seldom pursued with vigor, owing, in part, to the distracted state of the times and the exhausted condition of the country, and in part also to State jealousy. As each State felt its burdens to be heavy, it was cautious how it added to them in a greater proportion than its neighbours; and thus all were reluctant to act, till impelled by the pressure of necessity.

So low had the credit of the currency fallen, that the commissaries found it extremely difficult, and in some cases impossible, to purchase supplies for the army. Congress adopted a new method, by requiring each State to furnish a certain quantity of beef, pork, flour, corn, forage, and other articles, which were to be deposited in such places as the Commander-in-chief should determine. The States were to be credited for the amount at a fixed valuation in specie. The system turned out to be impracticable. The multitude of hands into which the business was thrown, the

want of proper authority to compel its prompt execution, the distance of several of the States from the army, and the consequent difficulties of transportation, all conspired to make it the most expensive, the most uncertain, and the least effectual method that could be devised. It added greatly to the embarrassments of the military affairs, and to the labor and perplexities of the Commander-in-chief, till it was abandoned.

To keep up the credit of the currency, Congress recommended to the States to pass laws making paper money a legal tender at its nominal value for the discharge of debts, which had been contracted to be paid in gold or silver. Such laws were enacted, and many debtors took advantage of them. When the army was at Morristown, a man of respectable standing lived in the neighbourhood, who was assiduous in his civilities to Washington, which were kindly received and reciprocated. Unluckily this man paid his debts in the depreciated currency. Some time afterwards he called at head-quarters, and was introduced as usual to the General's apartment, where he was then conversing with some of his officers. He bestowed very little attention upon the visiter. The same thing occurred a second time, when he was more reserved than before. This was so different from his customary manner, that Lafayette, who was present on both occasions, could not help remarking it, and he said, after the man was gone; "General, this man seems to be much devoted to you, and yet you have scarcely noticed him." Washington replied, smiling; "I know I have not been cordial; I tried hard to be civil, and attempted to speak to him two or three times, but that Continental money stopped my mouth." He considered these laws unjust in principle, and iniquitous in their effects. He was himself a loser to a considerable amount by their operation.

At the beginning of April, when the States were to have completed their quotas of troops, the whole number under Washington's immediate command was no more than ten thousand four hundred rank and file. This number was soon diminished by sending the remainder of the Maryland line and the Delaware regiment to the southern army. The British force at New York amounted to seventeen thousand three hundred effective men. From that time the army of the north consisted of such troops only as were raised in the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. To hasten and give effect to the arrangements for the campaign, and draw more expeditiously from the States their quotas of soldiers and supplies, General Washington requested a committee of Congress to attend the army, with power to act in the name of that body for definite objects. The committee remained in camp between two and three months. General Schuyler, then a member of Congress, was one of the committee, and his experience, sound judgment, and energetic character, enabled him to render essential services in that capacity.

Before the end of April, the Marquis de Lafayette arrived at Boston from France, with the cheering intelligence that the French government had fitted out an armament of naval and land forces, which might soon be expected in the United States. He proceeded immediately to Washington's head-quarters, and thence to Congress. Although many of the Americans had hoped that their arms would be strengthened by the troops of their allies, yet no indications had hitherto been given, which encouraged them to believe that any aid of this sort would be rendered. The experiment was also thought by some to be hazardous. The prejudice against French soldiers, which had been im-

planted and nurtured by the colonial wars, it was feared might lead to serious consequences, if French troops should be landed in the United States, and brought to act in concert with the American army. So strongly was Count de Vergennes influenced by this apprehension, that he opposed the sending of troops to America, and advised that the efforts of France in succouring her ally should be expended in naval equipments, which he believed would be more effectual in annoying and weakening the common enemy. In this opinion, however, the other members of the cabinet did not concur, and it was resolved to send out a fleet with a body of troops to operate on land. Lafayette was principally instrumental in effecting this decision. It was a point upon which he had set his heart before he left America, and it may be presumed that he previously ascertained the sentiments of Washington. At any rate, his observation while in the country had convinced him, that French troops would be well received; and he had the address to bring the majority of the ministry to the same way of thinking.

In the month of June, General Knyphausen crossed over with such a force as he could spare from New York, and made an incursion into New Jersey. He was met by detachments from the American army, and some smart skirmishing ensued, particularly at Springfield, where the encounter lasted several hours. The enemy were driven back, and they retired to Staten Island.

The object of this adventure could not easily be ascertained. General Washington at first supposed it to be a feint to amuse him in that quarter, while a more formidable force should be suddenly pushed up the Hudson to attack the posts in the Highlands. This opinion was countenanced by the arrival, just at that

time, of Sir Henry Clinton from his successful expedition against Charleston. No such attempt being made, however, the only effect was to draw General Washington's army nearer the Hudson, where he took a position in which he could act in defence of New Jersey or the Highlands, as occasion might require.

News at length came, that the French fleet had entered the harbour of Newport, in Rhode Island, on the 10th of July. The armament consisted of seven or eight ships of the line, two frigates, two bombs, and upwards of five thousand troops. The fleet was commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, and the army by the Count de Rochambeau. This was called the first division. Another, being detained for the want of transports, was left at Brest almost ready to sail, which it was said would soon follow.

The instructions from the ministry to Count de Rochambeau were extremely judicious, and contrived in every part to secure harmony between the American and French armies. The general and the troops were to be in all cases under the command of General Washington. When the two armies were united, the French troops were to be considered as auxiliaries, and to yield precedence by taking the left. American officers were to command French officers of equal rank, and holding commissions of the same dates; and, in all military acts and capitulations, the American generals were to be named first and to sign first. These instructions, expressed in clear and positive terms, were made known to General Washington by Lafayette before the troops landed. A copy in detail was likewise sent to him by Count de Rochambeau. They produced all the happy effects, which could have been anticipated. Perfect harmony subsisted not only between the armies, but between the people and the French troops, from their

first arrival in the country till their final departure. The Continental officers, by the recommendation of General Washington, wore cockades of black and white intermixed, as a compliment to the French troops, and a symbol of friendship; the former color being that of the American cockade, and the latter that of the French.

A plan of combined operations against the enemy in New York was drawn up by General Washington, and forwarded to Count de Rochambeau by the hands of Lafayette, who went to Newport for the purpose of making explanations, and concerting arrangements with the French general and admiral. This plan had for its basis the naval superiority of the French over the English, by which the fleet of the latter might be attacked to advantage, or at least blocked up in the harbour of New York. At the present time, however, this was not the case. The arrival of Admiral Graves, with six ships of the line, had increased the British naval force considerably beyond that of the Chevalier de Ternay; and it was agreed that nothing could be done, till he should be reinforced by the second division from France, or by the squadron of the Count de Guichen, which was expected from the West Indies.

Forewarned by the British ministry of the destination of the French armament, Sir Henry Clinton made seasonable preparations to meet it, and requested Admiral Arbuthnot to be ready with his fleet. After considerable delay he embarked six thousand troops at Frog's Neck, intending to proceed through the Sound and coöperate with the fleet in an attack on the French at Newport. In the mean time Count de Rochambeau, aided by General Heath then present with the French army, called in the militia of the neighbouring country, and increased the force at Newport so much, that Sir

Henry Clinton, despairing of success, landed his men at Whitestone, on Long Island, and returned to New York, without effecting any part of his object. Another reason for his sudden return was, that Washington had drawn his army across the Hudson, and taken a position on the east side of that river, from which he might attack the city during the absence of so large a portion of the troops. It was Sir Henry Clinton's first hope, that, by the aid of the fleet, he should be able to complete his expedition against Newport, and come back to New York before Washington could assume an attitude which would menace the city; but in this he was disappointed.

Having a decided naval superiority, however, Admiral Arbuthnot blockaded the French squadron in the harbour of Newport, and Count de Rochambeau's army was obliged to remain there for its protection. This state of things continued through the season, and no military enterprise was undertaken. The second French division was blockaded at Brest, and never came to America; and the Count de Guichen sailed from the West Indies to France without touching in any part of the United States. Both parties, therefore, stood on the defensive, watching each other's motions, and depending on the operations of the British and French fleets. General Washington recrossed the Hudson, and encamped below Orangetown, or Tappan, on the borders of New Jersey, which station he held till winter.

In this interval of leisure, a conference between the commanders of the two allied armies was suggested by Count de Rochambeau, and readily assented to by General Washington. They met at Hartford, in Connecticut, on the 21st of September. During the absence of General Washington, the army was left under the command of General Greene. The interview was

more interesting and serviceable in cementing a personal friendship and promoting amicable relations between the parties, than important in establishing an ulterior system of action. Nothing indeed could be positively agreed upon, since a naval superiority was absolutely essential to any enterprise by land, and this superiority did not exist. All the plans that were brought into view, therefore, rested on contingencies, and in the end these were unfavorable to a combined operation.

At this time General Arnold held the command at West Point and other fortified posts in the Highlands. No officer in the American army had acquired higher renown for military talents, activity, and courage. He had signalized himself at the taking of Ticonderoga, by his expedition through the wilderness to Quebec, in a naval engagement on Lake Champlain, in a rencounter with the enemy at Danbury, and above all in the decisive action at Saratoga. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command in that city, being disabled by his wounds for immediate active service. Arrogant, fond of display, and extravagant in his style of living, he was soon involved in difficulties, which led to his ruin. His debts accumulated, and, to relieve himself from embarrassment and indulge his passion for parade, he resorted to practices discreditable to him as an officer and a man. Heavy charges were exhibited against him by the President and Council of Pennsylvania, which were referred to a court-martial. After a thorough investigation, the court sentenced him to receive a public reprimand from the Commander-in-chief. He had previously presented to Congress large claims against the United States on account of money, which he said he had expended for the public service in Canada. These claims were examined, and in part disallowed. In the opinion of many, they were such

as to authorize a suspicion of his integrity, if not to afford evidence of deliberate fraud.

These censures, added to the desperate state of his private affairs, were more than the pride of Arnold could bear. At once to take revenge, and to retrieve his fortunes, he resolved to become a traitor to his country, and seek employment in the ranks of the enemy. This purpose was so far fixed in his mind fifteen months before its consummation, that he then began, and continued afterwards, a secret correspondence with Major André, adjutant-general of the British army. The more easily to effect his designs, he sought and obtained the command at West Point, where he arrived the first week in August. From that time it was his aim, by a plan concerted with the British general, to deliver West Point and the other posts of the Highlands into the hands of the enemy.

The absence of Washington from the army, on his visit to Hartford, was thought to afford a fit occasion for bringing the affair to a crisis. The Vulture sloop of war ascended the Hudson, and anchored in Haverstraw Bay, six or seven miles below King's Ferry. It was contrived that a meeting should take place between Arnold and André, for the purpose of making arrangements. André went ashore from the Vulture in the night on the west side of the river, where Arnold was waiting to receive him. They remained together in that place till the dawn of day, when, their business not being finished, Arnold persuaded him to go to the house of Joshua H. Smith, at some distance from the river, where he was concealed during the day. Arnold left him in the morning and went to West Point. It was André's expectation and wish to return to the Vulture; but, this not being practicable, he left Smith's house in the dusk of the evening on horseback, and

crossed the river at King's Ferry with a written pass signed by Arnold, in which the bearer was called John Anderson. Before leaving Smith's house he exchanged his regimentals for a citizen's dress, over which he wore a dark, loose great-coat.

The next day, while riding alone towards New York, he was suddenly stopped in the road by three armed militia-men, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart, about half a mile north of Tarrytown. They searched him, and found papers secreted in his boots. From this discovery they inferred that he was a spy; and, taking him back to the nearest American out-post at North Castle, they delivered him over to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who was stationed there with a party of dragoons. Jameson examined the papers, and knew them to be in the handwriting of Arnold. They were of a very extraordinary character, containing an exact account of the state of things at West Point, and of the strength of the garrison, with remarks on the different works, and a report of a council of war recently held at the head-quarters of the army. Jameson was amazed and bewildered. He sent a messenger to Arnold with a letter, stating that a prisoner, who called himself John Anderson, had been brought to him and was then in custody, and that papers had been found upon his person, which seemed to him of a dangerous tendency. At the same time he despatched an express to General Washington, then supposed to be on the road returning from Hartford. This express was the bearer of the papers, which had been taken from André's boots.

The next morning André was sent, under the charge of Major Tallmadge, to Colonel Sheldon's quarters at New Salem for greater security. Being now convinced that there was no hope of escape, he wrote a letter to General Washington revealing his name and true char-

acter. Till this time no one about him knew who he was, or that he held a military rank. He submitted the letter to Major Tallmadge and other officers, who read it with astonishment.

Having finished his interview with the French commanders, Washington returned from Hartford by the upper route through Fishkill. Consequently the express, who was sent with the papers, and who took the lower route, by which Washington had gone to Hartford, did not meet him, but came back to North Castle. In the mean time Washington pursued his journey by the way of Fishkill to West Point. Two or three hours before he reached Arnold's house, which was on the side of the river opposite to West Point and at a considerable distance below, the messenger arrived there with the letter from Jameson, by which Arnold was informed of the capture of André. He read it with some degree of agitation, and, pretending that he was suddenly called to West Point, mounted a horse standing at the door, rode to the river, entered his barge, and ordered the men to row down the stream. When the barge approached King's Ferry, he held up a white handkerchief, and the officer, who commanded at Verplanck's Point, supposing it to be a flag-boat, allowed it to pass without inspection. Arnold proceeded directly to the Vulture, which was still at anchor in the river near the place where André had left it.

Washington arrived at Arnold's house, and went over to West Point, without hearing any thing of Arnold. On his return, however, in the afternoon, he received the abovementioned letter from André, and the papers found in his boots, which had been forwarded from North Castle. The plot was now unravelled. The first thing to be done was to secure the posts. Orders were immediately despatched to all the principal officers, and every precaution was taken.

André was first removed to West Point, and thence to the head-quarters of the army at Tappan. A board of officers was summoned, and directed to inquire into the case of Major André, report the facts, and give their opinion, both in regard to the nature of his offence, and to the punishment that ought to be awarded. Various papers were laid before the board, and André himself was questioned, and desired to make such statements and explanations as he chose. After a full investigation the board reported, that the prisoner came on shore in the night, to hold a private and secret interview with General Arnold; that he changed his dress within the American lines, and passed the guards in a disguised habit and under a feigned name; that he was taken in the same disguised habit, having in his possession several papers, which contained intelligence for the enemy; and that he ought to be considered as a spy, and, according to the law and usage of nations, to suffer death. General Washington approved this decision; and Major André was executed at Tappan on the 2d of October.

While André's case was pending, Sir Henry Clinton used every effort in his power to rescue him from his fate. He wrote to General Washington, and endeavoured to show, that he could not be regarded as a spy, inasmuch as he came on shore at the request of an American general, and afterwards acted by his direction. Connected with all the circumstances, this argument could have no weight. That he was drawn into a snare by a traitor did not make him the less a spy. As the guilt of Arnold was the cause of all the evils that followed, an exchange of him for André would have been accepted; but no such proposal was intimated by the British general; and perhaps it could not be done consistently with honor and the course

already pursued. From the moment of his capture till that of his execution, the conduct of André was marked with a candor, self-possession, and dignity, which betokened a brave and noble spirit. There was no stronger trait in the character of Washington than humanity; the misfortunes and sufferings of others touched him keenly; and his feelings were deeply moved at the part he was compelled to act in consenting to the death of André; yet justice to the office he held, and to the cause for which his countrymen were shedding their blood, left him no alternative.*

While these operations were going on at the north, all the intelligence from the south gave evidence, that affairs in that quarter were assuming a gloomy aspect. The British forces, with Lord Cornwallis at their head, were overrunning the Carolinas; and preparations were making in New York to detach a squadron with troops to fall upon Virginia. The defeat of General Gates near Camden, in South Carolina, was a heavy blow upon the Americans, and left them in a state from which it was feared they would not soon recover. Congress requested General Washington to appoint an officer to succeed Gates in the command of the southern army. With his usual determination and judgment he selected General Greene, who repaired to the theatre of action, in which he was so eminently distinguished during the subsequent years of the war.

Gaining an increased confidence in the Commander-in-chief, which a long experience of his wisdom and disinterestedness authorized, Congress at length adopted the important measures, in regard to the army, which he had earnestly and repeatedly advised and

* A full and detailed account of the particulars relating to this subject is contained in Sparks's *Life and Treason of Arnold*, being the third volume of the *Library of American Biography*.

enforced. They decreed that all the troops, thenceforward to be raised, should be enlisted to serve during the war; and that all the officers, who continued in the service to the end of the war, should be entitled to half-pay for life. Washington ever believed, that, if this system had been pursued from the beginning, it would have shortened the war, or at least have caused a great diminution in the expense. Unfortunately the States did not comply with the former part of the requisition, but adhered to the old method of filling up their quotas with men raised for three years and for shorter terms. The extreme difficulty of procuring recruits was the reason assigned for persevering in this practice.

Lafayette commanded six battalions of light infantry, stationed in advance of the main army. He projected a descent upon Staten Island, but was prevented from executing it by the want of boats. A plan was likewise formed for a general attack on the north part of New York Island. The enemy's posts were reconnoitred, extensive preparations were made, and a large foraging party was sent into Westchester County to mask the design, and draw the attention of the enemy that way. But the sudden appearance of several armed vessels in the river caused the enterprise to be deferred and finally abandoned. The foraging expedition, conducted by General Stark, was successful.

The army went into winter-quarters at the end of November; the Pennsylvania line near Morristown, the New Jersey regiments at Pompton, and the eastern troops in the Highlands. The head-quarters of the Commander-in-chief were at New Windsor. The French army remained at Newport, except the Duke de Lauzun's legion, which was cantoned at Lebanon in Connecticut.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mutiny of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Troops. — Agency of Washington in procuring Supplies from France. — Limited Powers of Congress. — Operations of the Enemy in the Chesapeake. — Detachment to Virginia under Lafayette. — General Washington visits Count de Rochambeau at Newport. — Condition of the Army. — Interview between the American and French Commanders at Weathersfield. — Plan of Operations. — A combined Attack on New York proposed. — Junction between the American and French Armies. — Intelligence from Count de Grasse in the West Indies changes the Objects of the Campaign. — Successful Operations of Lafayette against Cornwallis. — The combined Armies cross the Hudson and march to Virginia. — The Fleet of Count de Grasse enters the Chesapeake. — Siege of Yorktown. — Capitulation. — The American Army returns to Hudson's River; the French remains in Virginia.

The year 1781 opened with an event, which filled the country with alarm, and threatened dangerous consequences. On the 1st of January a mutiny broke out among the Pennsylvania troops, stationed near Morristown, and about thirteen hundred men paraded under arms, refused obedience to their officers, killed one captain, mortally wounded another, and committed various outrages. The mutineers marched in a body towards Princeton with six field-pieces, avowing their intention to proceed to Philadelphia, and demand from Congress a redress of their grievances. They complained that their pay was in arrears, that they were obliged to receive it in a depreciated currency, that many of the soldiers were detained beyond the term of their enlistment, and that they had suffered every hardship for the want of money, provisions, and clothing. By the prudence and good management of General Wayne, who took care to supply them with provisions on their march, they were kept from plundering the

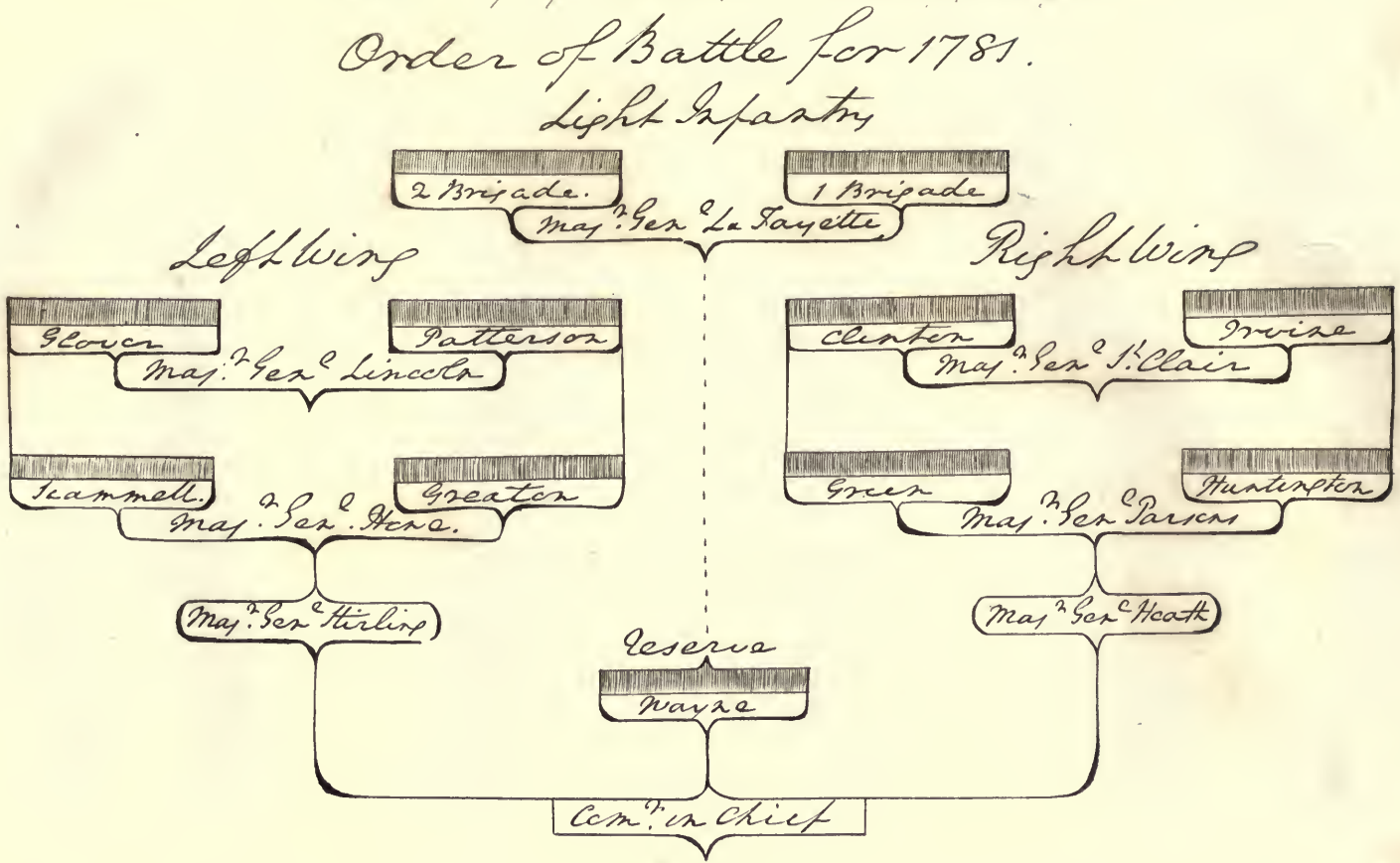
inhabitants and other excesses. He sent the intelligence of the revolt by an express to General Washington, who, considering the number of the mutineers and the apparent justice of their complaints, recommended to him not to use force, which might inflame their passions, increase opposition, keep alive resentment, and tempt them to turn about and go to the enemy, who would not fail to hold out alluring offers. He advised General Wayne to draw from them a statement of their grievances, and promise to represent the case faithfully to Congress and the State of Pennsylvania, and endeavour to obtain redress.

These judicious counsels had the effect desired. A committee of Congress, joined by the President of Pennsylvania, met the revolters at Trenton, and made proposals to them, which were accepted, and they gave up their arms. An ambiguity in the written terms of enlistment was one of the principal causes of dissatisfaction. The agreement on the part of the soldiers was, to serve for three years or during the war. By the interpretation, which the officers gave to these expressions, they bound the soldiers to serve to the end of the war; whereas the soldiers insisted, that they engaged for three years only, or during the war if it should come to an end before the three years had elapsed. Accordingly they demanded a discharge at the expiration of that period. This construction being allowed, it was the means of disbanding a large part of the Pennsylvania line for the winter, but it was recruited again in the spring to its original complement. The revolters were indignant at the suspicion of their going to the enemy, and scorned the idea, as they expressed it, of turning *Arnolds*. Two emissaries sent among them with overtures from Sir Henry Clinton were given up, tried by a court-martial, and executed.

Not knowing how far this example might infect the troops generally, the sufferings of all of whom were not less than those of the Pennsylvania line, General Washington took speedy measures to prevent the repetition of such a scene as had just occurred. He ordered a thousand trusty men to be selected from the regiments in the Highlands, and held in readiness to march, with four days' provisions, at the shortest notice. The wisdom of this precaution was soon put to the proof; for news came, that the New Jersey troops, stationed at Pompton and Chatham, were in a state of mutiny, having risen in arms against their officers, and threatened to march to Trenton, where the legislature of the State was then in session, and demand redress at the point of the bayonet. The case required promptness and energy. Six hundred men were put under the command of General Howe, with orders to march and crush the revolt by force, unless the men should yield unconditional submission and return to their duty. These orders were faithfully executed. Taken by surprise, the mutineers were compelled to parade without their arms, make concessions to their officers, and promise obedience. To impress them with the enormity of their guilt, and deter them and others from future acts of the kind, two of the ringleaders were tried by a field court-martial and shot. By this summary proceeding the spirit of mutiny in the army was subdued.

In the midst of these distracting events Washington was employed, at the request of Congress, in affording important counsels to Colonel John Laurens, who had been appointed on a mission to France, for the purpose of obtaining a loan and military supplies. Such was the deranged state of the currency, so low had the resources of the country been drained, and

FAC SIMILE. _ Copied from a Manuscript in the handwriting of Washington.



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so feeble was the power of drawing them out, that, in the opinion of all, the military efforts of the United States could not be exerted with a vigor suited to the exigency of the occasion, nor even with any thing more than a languishing inactivity, unless sustained by succours from their allies both in money and supplies for the army. The sentiments of Washington, communicating the fruits of his knowledge, experience, and judgment, with the weight of his name, were thought essential to produce a just impression on the French cabinet. He wrote a letter to Colonel Laurens, remarkable for its appropriateness and ability, containing a clear and forcible representation of facts, with arguments in support of the application of Congress, which was first presented by that commissioner to Dr. Franklin, and afterwards laid before the ministry and the King. The influence of this letter, in procuring the aids solicited from the French government, may be inferred from the circumstance of the loan being accompanied with the suggestion, that the money to be appropriated for the army should be left at the disposal of General Washington.

The existence of an army, and the prosecution of war, depend on the power of the civil head of a nation, as well as on its resources. So loose were the ties by which the confederacy was bound together, so limited was the control exercised by Congress over the States, and so little inclined were the parts to unite in a consolidated whole, that, from imbecility on the one hand and public apathy on the other, Washington became more and more fearful of the consequences. "The great business of war," said he, "can never be well conducted, if it can be conducted at all, while the powers of Congress are only recommendatory. While one State yields obedience, and another refuses it, while a third mutilates

and adopts the measure in part only, and all vary in time and manner, it is scarcely possible that our affairs should prosper, or that any thing but disappointment can follow the best concerted plans. The willing States are almost ruined by their exertions; distrust and jealousy ensue. Hence proceed neglect and ill-timed compliances, one State waiting to see what another will do. This thwarts all our measures, after a heavy though ineffectual expense is incurred." And he adds, on the point of vesting Congress with competent powers; "Our independence, our respectability and consequence in Europe, our greatness as a nation hereafter, depend upon it. The fear of giving sufficient powers to Congress, for the purposes I have mentioned, is futile. A nominal head, which at present is but another name for Congress, will no longer do. That honorable body, after hearing the interests and views of the several States fairly discussed and explained by their representatives, must dictate, and not merely recommend and leave it to the States to do afterwards as they please, which, as I have observed before, is in many cases to do nothing at all." These sentiments he often repeated in letters to his friends, but more as an expression of his wishes than in the confidence of hope. The time for establishing a firm and united government had not come. Nor indeed was it to be expected that the States, jealous of their rights, and each possessing within itself the substance and the forms of a separate commonwealth, would resign without great caution these positive advantages for the doubtful security of a new and untried system.

It is remarkable, however, that Congress assumed and exercised certain powers implying the highest prerogatives of sovereignty, while they neglected to use others of a subordinate kind, which were less likely to

be abused, and were even more necessary to move the great machine of government. They made war, declared independence, formed treaties of alliance, sent ministers to foreign courts, emitted a paper currency and pledged the credit of all the States for its redemption, and on more than one occasion conferred dictatorial powers on the commander of their armies. These acts of supreme power they hazarded without scruple or hesitation, without consulting their constituents or the fear of displeasing them; but they ventured only to *recommend* to the States to raise troops, levy taxes, clothe and feed their naked and starving soldiers, and to execute the laws for the purposes of internal government; shrinking from the responsibility of enforcing their decrees, or even of advising compulsory measures.

This seeming contradiction is not inexplicable. Their course was prudent, perhaps necessary. The first series of acts here enumerated did not bear immediately upon the people. Alliances might be entered into, a foreign minister might come or go, an army might be voted or the credit of the nation pledged, and no individual would feel any present inconvenience; whereas, if a man was required to be a soldier, to pay a tax, or give up part of his substance, he would begin to think of himself, talk of his rights, complain of hardships, and question the authority that demanded obedience. The difficulty of exacting such obedience by force, and the danger of the attempt, are equally obvious.

The British general seems not to have meditated any offensive operations in the northern States for the coming campaign. His attention was chiefly directed to the south, where such detachments as could be spared from his army at New York were to coöperate with Lord Cornwallis. Sixteen hundred men, with a pro-

portionate number of armed vessels, were sent into the Chesapeake under the command of Arnold, who was eager to prove his zeal for the cause of his new friends by the mischief he could do to those, whom he had deserted and sought to betray. Before his arrival in the Chesapeake, General Leslie had left Virginia and sailed for Charleston; so that Arnold received the undivided honor of his exploits, and, what he valued more highly, a liberal share of the booty that fell into his hands. He burnt Richmond, seized private property, and committed depredations in sundry places.

About the middle of January the British fleet blockading the harbour of Newport was so much shattered and dispersed by a violent storm, that the scale of superiority turned in favor of the French squadron. The Chevalier de Ternay had recently died, and M. Destouches, who succeeded him in the command, reconnoitred the enemy's fleet after the storm, and, finding it well secured in Gardiner's Bay, at the east end of Long Island, he was not inclined to seek an engagement. Taking advantage of the opportunity, however, he detached a ship of the line and two frigates under M. de Tilly to the Chesapeake, with the design to blockade Arnold's squadron, and to act against him in concert with the American troops on land. As soon as General Washington heard of the damage suffered by the British ships, he wrote to Count de Rochambeau, recommending that M. Destouches should proceed immediately to Virginia with his whole fleet and a thousand troops from the French army. This advice was not received till after the departure of M. de Tilly from Newport, when it was too late to comply with it, as the British fleet in the mean time had gained strength, and made it hazardous for M. Destouches to leave the harbour.

M. de Tilly's expedition was only in part successful. He entered the Chesapeake, but Arnold drew his vessels so high up the Elizabeth River, that they could not be reached by the French line-of-battle ship; and one of the frigates ran aground, and was set afloat again with difficulty. As M. de Tilly could not remain long in the Chesapeake without the hazard of being blockaded by a British force, he put to sea and arrived at Newport after an absence of fifteen days.

Although the British had repaired their damaged vessels, yet by the junction of M. de Tilly an equality was restored to the French; and M. Destouches, in conformity to the recommendation of General Washington, resolved on an expedition to Virginia with his whole naval force, to which Count de Rochambeau added eleven hundred troops, commanded by Baron de Viomenil. The French were pursued by Admiral Arbuthnot with all his blockading squadron, and overtaken near the Capes of Virginia, where an action ensued, which terminated with nearly equal honor to both parties. The object of the expedition was thus defeated, unless it was a part of M. Destouches's purpose to bring on a naval engagement, which is not improbable. The fleet returned to Newport without attempting to enter the Chesapeake.

The moment Washington received the intelligence, that M. de Tilly had sailed to the southward, he detached twelve hundred men from his army to proceed by land to the Chesapeake and coöperate with the French against Arnold. At the head of this detachment he placed the Marquis de Lafayette, being influenced in his choice both by a political motive, and by his confidence in the ability and bravery of that officer. The appointment was complimentary to

the allies, and it was thought that harmony would be more surely preserved by a commander, who was beloved by the American troops, and respected for his rank and character by his own countrymen. Lafayette marched from Hudson's River on the 20th of February. On his arrival in Virginia, his seniority of rank would give him the command of all the Continental troops in that State, and of all the militia drawn into the service to oppose the enemy in the waters of the Chesapeake. Hitherto Baron Steuben had conducted the operations against Arnold in Virginia, having been detained for that purpose when on his way to join General Greene.

To mature the plans for the campaign, and to communicate with the French commanders on points that could not be safely intrusted to writing, General Washington made a journey to Newport. He left head-quarters on the 2d of March, and was absent nearly three weeks. He arrived a day or two before M. Destouches's departure on the expedition above mentioned. The citizens of Newport received him with a public address, expressive of their attachment, their gratitude for his services, and the joy they felt at seeing him among them. In his reply he took care to reciprocate and confirm the sentiments, which they had declared in regard to the allies. "The conduct of the French army and fleet," said he, "of which the inhabitants testify so grateful and so affectionate a sense, at the same time that it evinces the wisdom of the commanders and the discipline of the troops, is a new proof of the magnanimity of the nation. It is a further demonstration of that generous zeal and concern for the happiness of America, which brought them to our assistance, a happy presage of future harmony, a pleasing evidence that an

intercourse between the two nations will more and more cement the union, by the solid and lasting ties of mutual affection." In short, the meeting between the commanders of the allied armies was in all respects satisfactory to both parties; but the projects of the enemy were so uncertain, and future operations depended so much on contingent and unforeseen events, that nothing more could be agreed upon, than general arrangements for acting in concert at such times and places as circumstances should require.

Although the design of the British general was not then known, it appeared afterward that he aimed to transfer the seat of war to the Chesapeake, and if possible to Pennsylvania. This scheme was urged by Lord Cornwallis, who was of the opinion that it ought to be pursued even at the expense of abandoning New York. To aid in effecting it, Sir Henry Clinton sent another detachment to Virginia, consisting of two thousand men under General Phillips, who was ordered to coöperate with Arnold, and ultimately with Lord Cornwallis, it being presumed that Cornwallis would make his way through North Carolina, and be able to succour these troops in Virginia, and probably to join them with his army.

The first object of Lafayette's expedition was to act in conjunction with the French fleet; but, as no part of the fleet entered the Chesapeake, he was disappointed in that purpose. His troops advanced no farther than Annapolis, although he went forward himself to Williamsburg. Having ascertained that an English squadron had entered the Chesapeake, instead of the French, he immediately prepared to return with his detachment to the main army near the Hudson. He proceeded by water to the Head of Elk, where he received additional instructions from Gen-

eral Washington, directing him to march to the south, and either meet the enemy in Virginia, or continue onward to the southern army, as should be advised by General Greene.

The enemy ascended the Chesapeake Bay and its principal rivers with their small armed vessels, plundering and laying waste the property of the inhabitants One of these vessels came up the Potomac to Mount Vernon; and the manager of the estate, with the hope of saving the houses from being pillaged and burnt, yielded to the demands of the officers in a manner, which excited the regret and displeasure of Washington. In reply to his manager, who had informed him of the particulars, he said; "I am very sorry to hear of your loss; I am a little sorry to hear of my own; but that which gives me most concern is, that you should go on board the enemy's vessels, and furnish them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that, in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my house and laid the plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them with a view to prevent a conflagration. It was not in your power, I acknowledge, to prevent them from sending a flag on shore, and you did right to meet it; but you should, in the same instant that the business of it was unfolded, have declared explicitly, that it was improper for you to yield to the request; after which, if they had proceeded to help themselves by force, you could but have submitted; and, being unprovided for defence, this was to be preferred to a feeble opposition, which only serves as a pretext to

burn and destroy." The reader need not be reminded of the accordance of these sentiments with the noble disinterestedness, which regulated his conduct through the whole of his public life.

An extract from his Diary, written on the 1st of May, will exhibit in a striking manner the condition of the army at that time, and the prospects of the campaign.

"To have a clearer understanding of the entries, which may follow, it would be proper to recite in detail our wants and our prospects; but this alone would be a work of much time and great magnitude. It may suffice to give the sum of them, which I shall do in a few words. Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the different States; instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided and the workmen all leaving them; instead of having the various articles of field-equipage in readiness to be delivered, the quartermaster-general, as the dernier resort, according to his account, is but now applying to the several States to provide these things for their troops respectively; instead of having a regular system of transportation established upon credit, or funds in the quartermaster's hands to defray the contingent expenses of it, we have neither the one nor the other, and all that business, or a great part of it, being done by military impress, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people, souring their tempers, and alienating their affections; instead of having the regiments completed to the new establishment, which ought to have been done agreeably to the requisitions of Congress, scarce any State in the Union has at this hour an eighth part of its quota in the field, and little prospect that I can see

of ever getting more than half; in a word, instead of having every thing in readiness to take the field, we have nothing; and, instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy defensive one, unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, land troops, and money from our generous allies, and these at present are too contingent to build upon."

Happily the train of affairs took a more favorable turn than he anticipated. In a short time he received the cheering intelligence, that the Count de Barras had arrived in Boston harbour with a French frigate, that other vessels and a reinforcement of troops from France might soon be looked for, and that a fleet under the Count de Grasse would sail from the West Indies to the United States in July or August. Another meeting between the commanders of the allied armies was thus rendered necessary. It took place at Weathersfield, in Connecticut, on the 22d of May. Count de Barras, having succeeded M. Destouches in the command of the French squadron, was detained at Newport by the appearance of a British fleet off the harbour; but the Marquis de Chastellux, a major-general in the army, accompanied Count de Rochambeau. On the part of the Americans were the Commander-in-chief, General Knox, and General Duportail.

The two principal objects brought under consideration were; first, a southern expedition to act against the enemy in Virginia; secondly, a combined attack on New York. The French commander leaned to the former; but he yielded to the stronger reasons for the latter, which was decidedly preferred by General Washington. A movement to the south must be wholly by land, the French fleet being inferior to that of Admiral Arbuthnot, by which it was blockaded, and of course

not in a condition to go to sea. The difficulty and expense of transportation, the season of the year in which the troops would reach Virginia, being the hottest part of summer, and the waste of men always attending a long march, were formidable objections to the first plan. It was believed, also, that the enemy's force in New York had been so much weakened by detachments, that Sir Henry Clinton would be compelled either to sacrifice that place and its dependencies, or recall part of his troops from the south to defend them.

It was therefore agreed, that Count de Rochambeau should march as soon as possible from Newport, and form a junction with the American army near Hudson's River. Before leaving Weathersfield, a circular letter was written by General Washington to the governors of the eastern States, acquainting them with the result of the conference, and urging them to fill up their quotas of Continental troops with all possible despatch, and to hold a certain number of militia in readiness to march at a week's notice. If men could not be obtained for three years, or during the war, he recommended that they should be enlisted for the campaign only, deeming the exigency to be of the greatest importance, both in a military point of view and in its political bearings; for the zeal of the Americans, and their willingness to make sacrifices for the common cause, would be estimated by the manner in which they should now second the efforts of their allies, and contribute to give effect to their proffered services. A body of militia was likewise to be called to Newport, for the defence of the French fleet in the harbour after the departure of the troops. The two commanders returned to their respective armies, and prepared to put their plan in execution.

It may here be observed, that, after the treaty of alliance, the people of the United States, feeling secure of their independence by the powerful aid of France, became more and more remiss in complying with the requisitions of Congress. The eastern and middle States in particular, after the French troops had arrived in the country, and the theatre of war had been transferred by the enemy to the south, relapsed into a state of comparative inactivity and indifference; the more observable on account of the contrast it presented with the ardor, energy, and promptitude which had previously characterized them. To shake off this lethargy, or at least to counteract its influence and stimulate them to furnish the supplies absolutely necessary for the army, Washington resorted to every expedient, which he thought would operate on their public spirit and immediate interests. Hence he had determined, nearly a year before this time, to give out and cause it to be believed, that New York was the point of attack at which he aimed with all the force and means that could be collected. Speaking on this subject at a later date, he said, "It never was in contemplation to attack New York, unless the garrison should first have been so far disgarnished to carry on the southern operations, as to render our success in the siege of that place as infallible as any future military event can ever be made. For, I repeat it, and dwell upon it again and again, some splendid advantage (whether upon a larger or smaller scale was almost immaterial) was so essentially necessary to revive the expiring hopes and languid exertions of the country, at the crisis in question, that I never would have consented to embark in any enterprise, wherein, from the most rational plan and accurate calculations, the favorable issue should not have appeared as clear to my view as a ray of light. The

failure of an attempt against the posts of the enemy could, in no other possible situation during the war, have been so fatal to our cause." The main object was to strengthen the army and obtain supplies. The mode of applying them might be regulated according to circumstances.

The attention of the Commander-in-chief was but partially taken up with the affairs under his own eye. He held a constant correspondence with General Greene and Lafayette, who kept him informed of the operations at the south, and asked his advice and direction on points of difficulty and importance. The western posts beyond the Alleganies were also under his command, and required much of his care. Incursions of the enemy from Canada kept the northern frontier in a state of alarm, and a considerable portion of the New York troops was called away for the protection of that quarter.

The wants of the army, especially in the article of bread, were at this time relieved by the generous and spirited exertions of Robert Morris, recently appointed Superintendent of Finance by Congress. He procured from contractors two thousand barrels of flour, promising hard money, and pledging his own credit for its payment. The act was voluntary, and the relief seasonable. It was one of the many valuable services, which that distinguished patriot rendered to his country.

General Washington drew the several parts of his army out of their quarters, and took his first position near Peekskill, but soon advanced towards New York, and encamped on the 4th of July near Dobbs's Ferry, and about twelve miles from Kingsbridge. On the 6th he was joined by Count de Rochambeau with the French army, which had marched in four divisions

from Providence by way of Hartford. The Americans encamped in two lines, with their right resting on the Hudson. The French occupied the left, in a single line extending to the river Brunx.

Preparations were made for an attack on the north part of New York Island a short time before the junction of the two armies. General Lincoln descended the Hudson with a detachment of eight hundred men in boats for this purpose, landed above Haerlem River, and took possession of the high ground near Kingsbridge. At the same time the Duke de Lauzun was to advance from East Chester with his legion, and fall upon Delancey's corps of refugees at Morrisania. Unforeseen causes prevented the attack, and Lauzun did not arrive in season to effect his part of the enterprise. After some skirmishing the enemy's out-posts were withdrawn to the other side of Haerlem River. General Washington came forward with the main army as far as Valentine's Hill, four miles from Kingsbridge, to support General Lincoln in case it should be necessary. The troops lay upon their arms during the night, and the next day retired to the encampment near Dobbs's Ferry.

At this place the two armies continued six weeks. A plan of a general attack was formed, and the two commanders reconnoitred the enemy's works, first by passing over the Hudson and viewing them across the river from the elevated grounds between Dobbs's Ferry and Fort Lee, and next at Kingsbridge and other places in its vicinity. But the recruits came in so tardily from the States, that the army was never in a condition to authorize an undertaking of such magnitude without the coöperation of a French fleet superior to the British; more especially as a reinforcement of about three thousand Hessian recruits arrived in

New York from Europe. A despatch had early been sent to Count de Grasse in the West Indies, advising him to sail directly to Sandy Hook, and thus secure a naval superiority. On this contingency depended the execution of the plan.

While these operations were in progress, a French frigate arrived at Newport with a letter from Count de Grasse, dated at Cape François in St. Domingo, stating that he should shortly sail from that place with his whole fleet and three thousand two hundred land troops for the Chesapeake. This letter was received by General Washington on the 14th of August. It produced an immediate change in the objects of the campaign. The engagements of Count de Grasse in the West Indies were such, that he could not promise to remain on the coast beyond the middle of October. It being doubtful whether, with all the force that could be collected, and with the fairest prospect of ultimate success, the siege of New York could be brought to an issue by that time, it was resolved at once to abandon that project, and proceed to Virginia with the whole of the French troops and such a part of the American army as could be spared from the defence of the posts on Hudson's River and in the Highlands. In this decision Count de Rochambeau cordially united, and the march to the south began without delay.

Cornwallis had advanced from North Carolina, formed a junction with the British detachment in the Chesapeake, and overrun the lower counties of Virginia; but he was checked by the active exertions and skilful manœuvres of Lafayette, whose generalship and prudent conduct merited the greatest applause. This was peculiarly gratifying to Washington, who, in case of failure, might have been censured for intrusting to

so young an officer the hazardous experiment of encountering one of the most experienced and accomplished generals of the age. "Be assured, my dear Marquis," said Washington in writing to him, "your conduct meets my warmest approbation, as it must that of everybody. Should it ever be said, that my attachment to you betrayed me into partiality, you have only to appeal to facts to refute any such charge." Count de Vergennes bore similar testimony. In a letter to Lafayette he said; "I have followed you step by step through your whole campaign in Virginia, and should often have trembled for you, if I had not been confident in your wisdom. It requires no common ability and skill to enable a man to sustain himself as you have done, and during so long a time, before such a general as Lord Cornwallis, who is lauded for his talents in war; and this too, with such a great disproportion in your forces." The minister of war was also commanded by the King to express the royal approbation in the warmest terms, and to assure Lafayette of his being raised to the rank of field-marshal in the French army, when his services should be no longer required in the United States.*

* An incident at the beginning of the campaign, alike honorable to the character of Lafayette and expressive of his disinterested zeal, should not be overlooked in this place, nor ever be forgotten by an American. When his detachment arrived at Baltimore, on its march from the Head of Elk to the south, the men were suffering for the want of suitable clothes. The military chest was exhausted. He procured from the merchants in Baltimore, on his personal credit, a sufficient quantity of cloth to supply the want, and enable the soldiers to pursue their march. Alluding to this generous act, Washington said, in a letter to him;

"The measures you had taken to obtain, on your own credit, a supply of clothing and necessaries for the detachment, must entitle you to all their gratitude and affection; and will, at the same time that it endears your name, if possible, still more to this country, be an everlasting monument of your ardent zeal and attachment to its cause, and the establish-

It was the first object of Washington and Rochambeau to act against Cornwallis in Virginia. Should that general retreat to North Carolina, it was then intended to pursue him with a part of the combined army, and to embark the remainder on board the French fleet, and proceed with it to Charleston, which was at that time held by the British. The two armies crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry, and marched by different routes to Trenton, and thence through Philadelphia to the Head of Elk. The stores and baggage, with one regiment, passed down the Delaware by water to Christiana Creek. Sir Henry Clinton was of course ignorant of the expected approach of Count de Grasse to the Chesapeake, and much finesse was used to misguide and bewilder him in regard to the design of these movements; it being apprehended, that, suspecting the real object, he might send reinforcements to Virginia before the arrival of the French fleet. Accordingly fictitious letters were written and put in the way of being intercepted, and a deceptive provision of ovens, forage, and boats was made in New Jersey, by which the British general would be led to suppose, that an attack was intended from that quarter. These stratagems were successful to the extent anticipated; and the troops had made considerable progress in their march, before Sir Henry Clinton was fully aware of their destination.

General Heath was left in the command on Hudson's River. The moving army was put under the charge

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ment of its independence. For my own part, my dear Marquis, although I stood in need of no new proofs of your exertions and sacrifices in the cause of America, I will confess to you, that I shall not be able to express the pleasing sensations I have experienced at your unparalleled and repeated instances of generosity and zeal for the service on every occasion. Suffer me only to pursue you with my sincerest wishes, that your success and glory may always be equal to your merits."

of General Lincoln. The soldiers, being mostly from the eastern and middle States, marched with reluctance to the southward, and showed strong symptoms of discontent when they passed through Philadelphia. This had been foreseen by General Washington, and he urged the Superintendent of Finance to advance to them a month's pay in hard money. But there was no such money in the treasury. Mr. Morris succeeded, however, in borrowing for this purpose twenty thousand hard dollars from the French commander, which he promised to return within thirty days.

General Washington and Count de Rochambeau preceded the army; and the former, after stopping for a short time in Philadelphia, hastened forward to Mount Vernon, which lay in his route. This casual visit was the first he had paid to his home since he left it to attend the second Continental Congress, a period of six years and five months; so entirely had he sacrificed his time, personal interests, and local attachments to the service of his country. Nor did he now remain any longer, than to await the arrival of Count de Rochambeau, whom he had left at Baltimore. The two generals then made all haste to the headquarters of Lafayette's army near Williamsburg, which they reached on the 14th of September.

In the mean time Count de Grasse, with his whole fleet, consisting of twenty-six ships of the line and several frigates, entered the Chesapeake, after a partial engagement with Admiral Graves off the Capes. He had also been joined by the Count de Barras, with the French squadron from Newport. Three thousand men from the West Indies, commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, had already landed, and united with Lafayette. Transports were immediately despatched up the Chesapeake, to bring down the French and Ameri-

can troops from the Head of Elk and Annapolis. For the purpose of concerting measures for a coöperation between the naval and land forces, the two commanders held a conference with Count de Grasse on board the *Ville de Paris* at Cape Henry.

Lord Cornwallis, expecting aid from Sir Henry Clinton, and hoping the British force at sea would be superior to the French, had taken possession of Yorktown and Gloucester, two places separated by York River, and nearly opposite to each other. The main part of his army was at Yorktown, around which he threw up strong works of defence, and prepared to sustain a siege. To this extremity he was at length reduced. All the troops being assembled, the American and French generals marched from the encampment near Williamsburg, and completely invested Yorktown on the 30th of September. The Americans were stationed on the right, and the French on the left, in a semicircular line, each wing resting on York River. The post at Gloucester was invested by Lauzun's legion, marines from the fleet, and Virginia militia, under the command of M. de Choisy, a brigadier-general in the French service.

The siege was carried on by the usual process of opening parallels, erecting batteries, firing shot, throwing shells, and storming redoubts. The enemy were neither idle nor inefficient in their efforts for defence and annoyance. The principal event was the storming of two redoubts at the same time; one by a party of the American light infantry, the other by a detachment of French grenadiers and chasseurs; the former headed by Lafayette, the latter by the Baron de Viomenil. They were both successful. The assailants entered the redoubts with the bayonet, in a brave and spirited manner, under a heavy fire from the enemy. The advanced

corps of the American party was led by Colonel Hamilton, "whose well-known talents and gallantry," said Lafayette in his report, "were most conspicuous and serviceable." Colonels Laurens, Gimat, and Barber were also distinguished in this assault.

The besiegers pushed forward their trenches, and kept up an incessant fire from their batteries, till the 17th of October, when, about ten o'clock in the morning, the enemy beat a parley, and Lord Cornwallis sent out a note to General Washington proposing a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, and the appointment of commissioners on each side to settle the terms for surrendering the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester. In reply General Washington requested, that, as a preliminary step, his Lordship would communicate in writing the terms on which he proposed to surrender. This was complied with, and hostilities ceased.

The basis of a capitulation, furnished by the British general, was, that the garrisons should be prisoners of war, with the customary honors; that the British and German troops should be sent to Europe, under an engagement not to serve against France or America till released or exchanged; that all arms and public stores should be given up; that the officers and soldiers should retain their private property; and that the interest of several individuals in a civil capacity should be attended to. This last clause was designed to protect the traders and other Americans, who had joined the enemy.

Some of these points not being admissible, General Washington transmitted an answer the next day, in which he sketched the outlines of a capitulation, and informed Lord Cornwallis, that he was ready to appoint commissioners to digest the articles. All the troops in the garrisons were to be prisoners of war, and marched

into such parts of the country as could most conveniently provide for their subsistence; the artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores, with the shipping, boats, and all their furniture and apparel, were to be delivered up; the officers retaining their side-arms, and both the officers and soldiers preserving their baggage and effects, except such property as had been taken in the country, which was to be reclaimed. The surrendering army was to receive the same honors as had been granted by the British to the garrison of Charleston. Upon these general terms a treaty was finally adjusted; the commissioners being Colonel Laurens and the Viscount de Noailles on the part of the Americans and French, and Colonel Dundas and Major Ross on that of the British. The articles of capitulation were signed on the 19th of October, and in the afternoon of that day the garrisons marched out and surrendered their arms.

The traders within the enemy's lines were not regarded as prisoners, and they were allowed a certain time to dispose of their property or remove it; but no provision was made for other persons in a civil capacity within the enemy's lines. At the request of Lord Cornwallis, however, the Bonetta sloop of war was left at his disposal for the purpose of sending an aid-de-camp with despatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and in this vessel, which was suffered to depart without examination, all persons of the above description took passage for New York; and thus the British commander was enabled to maintain his good faith towards those, who had joined him in the country, without including them in the terms of capitulation. The Bonetta, with her crew, guns, and stores, was to return and be given up.

The whole number of prisoners, exclusive of seamen,

was somewhat over seven thousand men; and the British loss during the siege was between five and six hundred. The combined army employed in the siege consisted of about seven thousand American regular troops, upwards of five thousand French, and four thousand militia. The loss in killed and wounded was about three hundred. The land forces surrendered to General Washington, and became prisoners to Congress; but the seamen, ships, and naval equipments, were assigned to the French admiral.

The success was more complete, and more speedily attained, than had been anticipated. The capture of Cornwallis, with so large a part of the British army in America, occasioned great rejoicings throughout the country, as affording a decisive presage of the favorable termination of the war. Congress passed a special vote of thanks to each of the commanders, and to the officers and troops. Two stands of colors, taken from the enemy at the capitulation, were given to General Washington, and two pieces of field-ordnance to Count de Rochambeau and Count de Grasse respectively, as tokens of the national gratitude for their services. Congress moreover resolved to commemorate so glorious an event by causing a marble column to be erected at Yorktown, adorned with emblems of the alliance between France and the United States, and an inscription containing a narrative of the principal incidents of the siege and surrender.

General Washington, believing a most favorable opportunity now presented itself for following up this success by an expedition against Charleston, wrote a letter to Count de Grasse the day after the capitulation, requesting him to join in it with his fleet. He also went on board the admiral's ship, as well to pay his respects and offer his thanks for what had already been

done, as to explain and enforce the practicability and importance of this plan. By the instructions from his court, and by his engagements to the Spaniards, Count de Grasse was bound to return to the West Indies without delay, and thus it was not in his power to accede to the proposal. It was then suggested, that he should transport a body of troops to Wilmington, in North Carolina, and land them there while on his voyage. To this he at first made no objection; but, when he ascertained that there would be a difficulty in landing the men without running the risk of dividing his fleet, or perhaps of being driven off the coast with the troops on board, he declined the undertaking. Lafayette was to command this expedition; and the purpose of it was to take a British post at Wilmington, and then march into the interior and unite with the southern army under General Greene.

The troops commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon were embarked, and Count de Grasse set sail for the West Indies. Before his departure, General Washington presented him with two beautiful horses, as a testimony of personal consideration and esteem.

As nothing further could be effected by the allied forces during the campaign, a detachment of two thousand men, comprising the Continental troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, was put under General St. Clair, with orders to reinforce General Greene at the south. The troops belonging eastward of Pennsylvania were transported by water to the Head of Elk, whence they marched to their winter cantonments in New Jersey and near Hudson's River. The French army remained in Virginia till the following summer, the head-quarters of Count de Rochambeau being at Williamsburg.

The prisoners were marched to Winchester in Vir-

ginia, and Fredericktown in Maryland; and a part of them subsequently to Lancaster in Pennsylvania. Lord Cornwallis, and the other principal officers, went by sea to New York on parole.

All these affairs being arranged, General Washington left Yorktown on the 5th of November. The same day he arrived at Eltham, where he was present at the death of Mr. Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington. He stayed there a few days to mingle his grief with that of the afflicted widow and mother. The occasion was not less trying to his sympathy than to his sensibility, for he had watched over the childhood and youth of the deceased with a paternal solicitude, and afterwards associated with him as a companion, who possessed his confidence and esteem. Mr. Custis was a member of the Virginia legislature, and much respected for his public and private character. He died at the age of twenty-eight, leaving four infant children, the two youngest of whom, a son and daughter, were adopted by General Washington, and they resided in his family till the end of his life.

From Eltham he proceeded by the way of Mount Vernon to Philadelphia, receiving and answering various public addresses while on his journey. The day after his arrival he attended Congress, being introduced into the hall by two members, and greeted with a congratulatory address by the President. He was requested to remain for some time in Philadelphia, both that he might enjoy a respite from the fatigues of war, and that Congress might avail themselves of his aid in making preparations for vigorous and timely efforts to draw every advantage from the recent triumph of the allied arms.

CHAPTER XIV.

Preparations for another Campaign recommended and enforced by General Washington and approved by Congress. — Lafayette returns to France. — The Affair of Captain Asgill. — Backwardness of the States in recruiting the Army. — Proposal to General Washington to assume Supreme Power, and his Reply. — Sir Guy Carleton gives Notice, that Negotiations for Peace had begun. — The French Troops march from Virginia, join General Washington, and afterwards embark at Boston. Dissatisfaction of the Army. — The Officers send a Memorial to Congress. — The anonymous Addresses at Newburg. — Intelligence arrives, that a Treaty of Peace had been signed at Paris. — General Washington's Sentiments concerning the civil Government of the Union. — His Circular Letter to the States. — He makes a Tour to the North. — Repairs to Congress at the Request of that Body. — His Farewell Address to the Army. — The British evacuate New York. — Washington resigns his Commission, and retires to private Life at Mount Vernon.

From the state of affairs at this time, both in Europe and America, it was evident that the war could not be of much longer duration. Considering the temper hitherto manifested by the British cabinet, however, and the spirit with which a large majority of the nation had sustained the ministerial measures, it was generally supposed that another campaign would be tried. This was Washington's belief; and, in his communications to Congress and to persons of influence in various parts of the country, he urged the importance of being fully prepared. This he regarded as the wisest policy in any event. If the war continued, the preparations would be necessary; if it ceased, they would have a favorable effect on the negotiations for peace.

He was apprehensive, that the people, from a mistaken idea of the magnitude of the late success in Virginia, would deceive themselves with delusive hopes, and grow remiss in their efforts. "To prevent

so great an evil," said he, "shall be my study and endeavour; and I cannot but flatter myself, that the States, rather than relax in their exertions, will be stimulated to the most vigorous preparations for another active, glorious, and decisive campaign, which, if properly prosecuted, will, I trust, under the smiles of Heaven, lead us to the end of this long and tedious war, and set us down in the full security of the great object of our toils, the establishment of peace, liberty, and independence. Whatever may be the policy of European courts during this winter, their negotiation will prove too precarious a dependence for us to trust to. Our wisdom should dictate a serious preparation for war, and, in that state, we shall find ourselves in a situation secure against every event."

These sentiments met the full concurrence of Congress. They resolved to keep up the same military establishment as the year before; and to call on the States to complete their quotas of troops at an early day. They voted new requisitions of money and supplies. These resolves were adopted with a promptness, zeal, and unanimity, which had rarely been shown on former occasions. To aid in carrying them into effect, it was deemed advisable for the Commander-in-chief to write two circular letters to the governors of all the States. The first, relating to finance, was dated on the 22d of January, 1782, and contained arguments for raising money adequate to the public exigences, particularly the payment and clothing of the troops. The second, dated a week later, exhibited the numbers and condition of the army then in the field, and urged the completing of the quotas according to the requisition of Congress.

"To bring the war to a speedy and happy conclusion," said he, "must be the fervent wish of every

lover of his country; and sure I am, that no means are so likely to effect these as vigorous preparations for another campaign. Whether, then, we consult our true interest, substantial economy, or sound policy, we shall find, that relaxation and languor are of all things to be avoided. Conduct of that kind on our part will produce fresh hopes and new exertions on that of the enemy; whereby the war, which has already held out beyond the general expectation, may be protracted to such a length, that the people, groaning under the burden of it, and despairing of success, may think any change a change for the better."

"However, at this advanced stage of the war, it might seem to be an insult to the understanding to suppose a long train of reasoning necessary to prove, that a respectable force in the field is essential to the establishment of our liberties and independence; yet, as I am apprehensive the prosperous issue of the combined operation in Virginia may have (as is too common in such cases) the pernicious tendency of lulling the country into a lethargy of inactivity and security; and, as I feel my own reputation, as well as the interest, the honor, the glory, and happiness of my country, intimately connected with the event, I will ask the indulgence to speak more freely on those accounts, and to make some of the observations, which the present moment seems to suggest.

"The broken and perplexed state of the enemy's affairs, and the successes of the last campaign on our part, ought to be a powerful incitement to vigorous preparations for the next. Unless we strenuously exert ourselves to profit by these successes, we shall not only lose all the solid advantages that might be derived from them, but we shall become contemptible in our own eyes, in the eyes of our enemy, in the opinion of pos-

terity, and even in the estimation of the whole world, which will consider us as a nation unworthy of prosperity, because we know not how to make a right use of it.

"Although we cannot, by the best-concerted plans, absolutely command success, although the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong, yet, without presumptuously waiting for miracles to be wrought in our favor, it is our indispensable duty, with the deepest gratitude to Heaven for the past, and humble confidence in its smiles on our future operations, to make use of all the means in our power for our defence and security. This period is particularly important, because no circumstances since the commencement of the war have been so favorable to the recruiting service as the present, and because it is to be presumed, from the increase of population and the brilliant prospects before us, that it is actually in our power to complete the army before the opening of the campaign. However flattering these prospects may be, much still remains to be done, which cannot probably be effected unless the army is recruited to its establishment; and consequently the continuance or termination of the war seems principally to rest on the vigor and decision of the States in this interesting point. And, finally, it is our first object of policy, under every supposable or possible case, to have a powerful army early in the field; for we must suppose the enemy are either disposed to prosecute the war, or to enter into a negotiation for peace. There is no other alternative. On the former supposition, a respectable army becomes necessary to counteract the enemy, and to prevent the accumulating expenses of a lingering war; on the latter, nothing but a decidedly superior force can enable us boldly to claim our rights and dictate the law at the

pacification. So that, whatever the disposition of the enemy may be, it is evidently our only interest and economy to act liberally, and exert ourselves greatly during the present winter to cut off at once all the expenses of the war by putting a period to it.

"And soon might that day arrive, and we might hope to enjoy all the blessings of peace, if we could see again the same animation in the cause of our country inspiring every breast, the same passion for freedom and military glory impelling our youths to the field, and the same disinterested patriotism pervading every rank of men, that was conspicuous at the commencement of this glorious revolution; and I am persuaded, that only some great occasion was wanting, such as the present moment exhibits, to rekindle the latent sparks of that patriotic fire into a generous flame, to rouse again the unconquerable spirit of liberty, which has sometimes seemed to slumber for a while, into the full vigor of action."

Such were his endeavours to stir up the principal persons in the several States to what he believed would be the last great effort for the establishment of independence and an honorable peace. Other methods were also used to provide means for prosecuting the war. Succours continued to be received from France, and, by the persevering application of Franklin to the French court, a loan of six millions of livres, payable in monthly instalments, was promised for the coming year. After the capitulation at Yorktown, there being no prospect of further active service till the next campaign, the Marquis de Lafayette obtained permission from Congress to return on a visit to his native country. Besides passing resolves complimentary to his character, zeal, and military conduct, Congress made him the bearer of a letter to the King of France, in which

he was commended to the notice of his sovereign in very warm terms. Much reliance was placed on the representations he would make concerning the state of affairs in America, and on his influence to procure the desired assistance from the French government. The ministers from the United States in Europe were likewise instructed to confer with the Marquis de Lafayette, and avail themselves of his knowledge and counsels.

About the middle of April, General Washington left Philadelphia and joined the army, establishing his headquarters at Newburg. He had hardly arrived in camp, when he heard of an occurrence, which produced much excitement at the time, and led to consequences of considerable notoriety, though in themselves of little moment. The particulars are these. Captain Huddy, an American officer, who commanded a small body of troops in Monmouth County, New Jersey, was taken prisoner by a party of refugees, conveyed into New York, and put in close confinement. A few days afterwards he was sent out of the city, under the charge of Captain Lippencot at the head of a number of refugees, by whom he was hanged on the heights near Middletown. This wanton act exasperated the people in the neighbourhood, who knew and esteemed Captain Huddy. Affidavits and a statement of facts were forwarded to General Washington. These he laid before a council of officers, who gave it as their unanimous opinion, that the case demanded retaliation, that the punishment ought to be inflicted on the leader of the party by which the murder was committed, and that, if he should not be given up, an officer equal in rank to Captain Huddy ought to be selected by lot from the British prisoners.

A representation of the facts was accordingly sent to

Sir Henry Clinton, with a demand for the surrender of Lippencot. This demand not being complied with, an officer was designated for retaliation. The lot fell upon Captain Asgill, a young man only nineteen years old, who was then a prisoner at Lancaster in Pennsylvania. The affair was in suspense for several months. Although Lippencot was not delivered up, yet Sir Henry Clinton, and his successor Sir Guy Carleton, not only disavowed the act as having been done without authority, but reprobated it with unmeasured severity. The subject was referred by them to a court-martial, and Lippencot was tried. From the developements it appeared, that the guilt of the transaction rested mainly with the Board of Associated Loyalists in New York, and that Lippencot acted in conformity with what he believed to be the orders of the board. Hence he was acquitted, as not properly answerable for the crime of the act. When these circumstances were made known, the whole matter was laid before Congress. Considering the ground taken by the British commanders in disavowing and censuring the act, added to the irresponsible nature of Lippencot's conduct, General Washington inclined to release Captain Asgill, and was disappointed and dissatisfied at the delay of Congress in coming to a decision on the subject. Meanwhile the mother of Asgill, already borne down with family afflictions, which were increased by the impending fate of her son, wrote a pathetic letter of intercession to the French ministry. This was shown to the King and Queen; and it wrought so much on their feelings, that Count de Vergennes by their direction wrote to General Washington, soliciting the liberation of Asgill. Although this communication arrived after it had been determined not to insist on retaliation, yet it had the effect to hasten the proceedings of Congress, and by their order Captain Asgill was set at liberty.

Little progress was made by the States in filling up their quotas of troops. When General Washington arrived in camp, the whole number of effective men in the northern army was somewhat short of ten thousand; nor was it much increased afterwards. In fact, after the capitulation at Yorktown, the conviction was nearly universal, that the war would not be pursued any further in the United States. The recruiting service consequently languished. Relieved from danger, and worn out with their long toils and sacrifices, the people were slow to perceive, that large preparations would be the means of procuring better terms of peace, and seemed contented with the present prospects. News arrived in the first part of May, which indicated an approaching change in the British cabinet, and symptoms of pacific measures. Fearful of the effect, which this intelligence might produce, Washington took occasion to express his own sentiments without reserve in a circular letter, which he was just at that time despatching to the governors of the States.

"Upon the most mature deliberation I can bestow," he observed, "I am obliged to declare it as my candid opinion, that the measures of the enemy in all their views, so far as they respect America, are merely delusory (they having no serious intention to admit our independence upon its true principles), and are calculated to quiet the minds of their own people, and reconcile them to the continuance of the war; while they are meant to amuse the country into a false idea of peace, to draw us off from our connexion with France, and to lull us into a state of security and inactivity, which having taken place, the ministry will be left to prosecute the war in other parts of the world with greater vigor and effect. Even if the nation and Parliament are really in earnest to obtain peace with

America, it will undoubtedly be wisdom in us to meet them with great caution and circumspection, and by all means to keep our arms firm in our hands, and, instead of relaxing one iota in our exertions, rather to spring forward with redoubled vigor, that we may take the advantage of every favorable opportunity, until our wishes are fully obtained. No nation ever yet suffered in treaty by preparing, even in the moment of negotiation, most vigorously for the field."

The discontents of the officers and soldiers, respecting the arrearages of their pay, had for some time increased; and, there being now a prospect, that the army would ultimately be disbanded without an adequate provision by Congress for meeting the claims of the troops, these discontents manifested themselves in audible murmurs and complaints, which foreboded serious consequences. But a spirit still more to be dreaded was secretly at work. In reflecting on the limited powers of Congress, and on the backwardness of the States to comply with the most essential requisitions, even in support of their own interests, many of the officers were led to look for the cause in the form of government, and to distrust the stability of republican institutions. So far were they carried by their fears and speculations, that they meditated the establishment of a new and more energetic system. A colonel in the army, of a highly respectable character, and somewhat advanced in life, was made the organ for communicating their sentiments to the Commander-in-chief. In a letter elaborately and skilfully written, after describing the gloomy state of affairs, the financial difficulties, and the innumerable embarrassments in which the country had been involved during the war, on account of its defective political organization, the writer adds;

"This must have shown to all, and to military men in particular, the weakness of republics, and the exertions the army have been able to make by being under a proper head. Therefore I little doubt, that, when the benefits of a mixed government are pointed out, and duly considered, such will be readily adopted. In this case it will, I believe, be uncontroverted, that the same abilities, which have led us through difficulties, apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory, those qualities, that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the ideas of tyranny and monarchy, as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may therefore be requisite to give the head of such a constitution, as I propose, some title apparently more moderate; but, if all other things were once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of KING, which I conceive would be attended with some material advantages."

To this communication, as unexpected as it was extraordinary in its contents, Washington replied as follows.

"Newburg, 22 May, 1782.

"SIR,

"With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, Sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations, than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary.

"I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs, that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add, that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do; and, as far as my powers and influence, in a constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"George Washington."

Such was the language of Washington, when, at the head of his army and at the height of his power and popularity, it was proposed to him to become a king. After this indignant reply and stern rebuke, it is not probable that any further advances were made to him on the subject.

Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York early in May, and superseded Sir Henry Clinton as commander of the British armies in America. His first letter to Washington was pacific in its tone, and showed, that at least a temporary change had taken place in the sentiments of Parliament respecting the principles on which the war had been conducted, and the policy of continuing it. Nothing of a positive nature was communicated, however, till the beginning of August, when Sir Guy

Carleton again wrote, that he was authorized to give notice, that negotiations for a general peace had commenced at Paris, and that the independence of the United States would be conceded as a preliminary step. From this time, therefore, preparations for war ceased, and no further acts of hostility were committed by either party. It not being certain, nevertheless, that the negotiations would actually result in peace, no part of the American army was dismissed, but the posture of defence was maintained with the same caution and vigilance as before.

The French troops had continued in Virginia since the capitulation at Yorktown. They marched to Hudson's River, and formed a junction with the forces under Washington about the middle of September. The two armies had been encamped on the east side of the river near Verplanck's Point more than a month, when the French marched to Boston, where a fleet was ready to receive them, and sailed before the end of December, having been in the country two and a half years. The Baron de Viomenil commanded the troops when they went on board the fleet at Boston. The Count de Rochambeau, accompanied by the Marquis de Chastellux, sailed some days later from Baltimore.

General Washington had drawn the larger part of his army down the river to Verplanck's Point, more as a mark of courtesy to the allied troops in meeting them there, than for any military object; and, after their departure, he returned to his former encampment at Newburg, where head-quarters continued till the army was disbanded.

The winter being a season of inactivity, and the prospect of peace becoming every day less doubtful, the officers and soldiers had leisure to reflect on their situation, and to look forward to the condition awaiting

them at the end of the war. When they compared their long services and sufferings with the sacrifices of those, who had been engaged only in the pursuits of private life, and with the rewards hitherto received, they felt that they had claims, as well on the gratitude and generosity, as on the justice of their country. At the same time, various circumstances conspired to make them apprehensive, that these claims would neither be adequately met nor duly estimated. Congress had no funds; the States were extremely backward in applying the only remedy by an effectual system of taxation; and the resource of foreign loans was nearly exhausted. It was natural, that this state of things, added to long arrearages of pay, and accounts unsettled and without any security for a future liquidation of them, should cause much excitement and concern.

"To judge rightly of the motives, which produced this uneasy temper in the army, it will be necessary to recollect that the resolution of October, 1780, granting half-pay for life to the officers, stood on the mere faith of a government possessing no funds, which would enable it to perform its engagements. From requisitions alone, to be made on sovereign states, were the supplies to be drawn, which should satisfy these meritorious public creditors; and the ill success attending these requisitions, while the dangers of war were still impending, furnished melancholy presages of their unproductiveness in time of peace. In addition to this reflection, of itself sufficient to disturb the tranquillity at first occasioned by this resolution, there were other considerations of decisive influence. The dispositions manifested by Congress were so unfriendly to the half-pay establishment, as to extinguish the hope, that any funds they might acquire would be applied to that object. Since the passage of the resolution, the articles

of confederation, which required the concurrence of nine States to any act appropriating public money, had been adopted; and nine States had never been in favor of the measure. Should the requisitions of Congress therefore be respected, or should permanent funds be granted by the States, the prevailing sentiment of the nation was too hostile to the compensation, which had been stipulated, to leave a probability that it would be substantially made. This was not merely the sentiment of the individuals then administering the government, which might change with a change of men. It was known to be the sense of the States they represented; and consequently the hope could not be indulged, that, on this subject, a future Congress would be more just, or would think more liberally. As, therefore, the establishment of that independence, for which they had fought and suffered, appeared to become more certain, as the end of their toils approached, the officers became more attentive to their own situation; and the inquietude of the army increased with the progress of the negotiation of peace." *

In the month of December, the officers in camp determined to address Congress on the subject of their grievances. A memorial was accordingly drawn up, which was understood to express the sentiments of the army. It contained a representation of the money actually due to them, a proposal that the half-pay for life should be commuted for a specific sum, and a request that security should be given by the government for fulfilling its engagements. The commutation it was believed would be more generally acceptable to the public than half-pay for life, which had always been opposed by a strong party as favoring the idea of a

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. IV. p. 580.

pension list and a privileged class, and as hostile to republican institutions. Three officers were deputed as a committee to carry this memorial to Congress, and instructed to use their endeavours to obtain for it a successful hearing.

The dissensions, which had long existed in Congress, were brought to bear on this subject. Many of the members were disposed to do ample justice to the army, and to all other public creditors, by assuming their claims as a Continental charge, and providing for the settlement of them by a Continental fund and securities; while others, jealous of state rights and state sovereignty, disapproved this course, and urged the plan of referring unsettled accounts to the respective States. Congress took the memorial into consideration, and passed resolves indefinite in their character, and not such as were likely to answer the expectations or quiet the uneasiness of the army. The claims of public creditors were recognised, but no scheme was suggested for establishing funds, or giving security. On an estimate of the average ages of the officers, it was decided, that half-pay for life was equivalent to five years' whole pay; but the requisite number of nine States could not be obtained in favor of the commutation. Apprehending a defeat, if they pressed the subject, and hoping that the vote would ultimately be carried, the committee thought it prudent to delay further proceedings, and one of them returned to camp with a letter containing a report of what had been done.

The representations thus communicated were by no means satisfactory to the officers. Disappointed and irritated, many of them were for resorting to measures, which should convince Congress, not only of the justice of their demands, but of their resolution to enforce them. Hence originated the famous *Newburg Addresses*. At

a private consultation of several officers it was agreed, that a meeting of the general and field officers, a commissioned officer from each company, and a delegate from the medical staff, ought to be called for the purpose of passing a series of resolutions, which should be forwarded to their committee at Congress. On the 10th of March a notification to this effect was circulated in camp, fixing the time and stating the object. The same day an anonymous address to the army was sent out, written in a strain of passionate and stirring eloquence, and extremely well suited to excite the feelings and rouse the spirit of those for whom it was intended. Foreseeing the fatal consequences that might result from an assembling of the officers under such circumstances, and at the same time deeply impressed with the justice of their complaints and the reality of their wrongs, Washington had a delicate task to perform; but he executed it with his characteristic decision, firmness, and wisdom. He sought rather to guide and control the proceedings thus begun, than to check or discountenance them by any act of severity.

In general orders the next morning, after censuring the anonymous paper and invitation as irregular and disorderly, he appointed a day and hour for the meeting of the officers, when they might "devise what further measures ought to be adopted, as most rational, and best calculated to attain the object in view." This was followed by another anonymous address, in a tone more subdued than the former, but expressing similar sentiments, and representing the orders as favorable to the purpose desired, the time of meeting only being changed. The Commander-in-chief, however, took care to frustrate the design of this interpretation by conversing individually with those officers in whom he

had the greatest confidence, setting before them in a strong light the danger that would attend a rash or precipitate act in such a crisis, inculcating moderation, and using his utmost efforts to appease their discontents, and persuade them to deliberate without passion, and under a deep conviction that the vital interests of their country were involved in the measures they should adopt.

When the officers were assembled at the time appointed, General Washington addressed them in very impressive terms, reminding them of the cause for which they had taken up arms, the fidelity and constancy with which they had hitherto devoted themselves to that cause, and the sacred trust which was still reposed in them as the defenders of their country's liberty; appealing to the honor and patriotism, by which they had so nobly and generously shown themselves to be actuated in the perils of the field, and amidst the unexampled sufferings of a protracted war; and imploring them not to cast a shade over the glory they had acquired, nor tarnish their well-earned reputation, nor lessen their dignity, by an intemperate or indiscreet act at the moment when the great object of their toils was achieved, and the world was loud in its praise of their valor, fortitude, and success. He acknowledged the equity of their claims, and the reasonableness of their complaints; but he deprecated the idea, that on this account they should distrust the plighted faith of their country, or the intentions of Congress; expressing his firm belief, that, before they should be disbanded, every thing would be adjusted to their satisfaction; and pledging himself, from a sense of gratitude for their past services, and from the attachment he felt to an army, which had adhered to him in every vicissitude of fortune, to employ all his abilities and his best exer-

tions to procure for them complete justice, as far as it could be done consistently with the great duty he owed to his country, and to the authority which every citizen was bound to respect.

After speaking these sentiments, and others of a similar tendency, suited to soothe their feelings and inspire confidence, he retired from the assembly. The deliberation of the officers was short, and their decision prompt and unanimous. They passed resolutions, thanking the Commander-in-chief for the course he had pursued, and expressive of their unabated attachment; and also declaring their unshaken reliance on the good faith of Congress and their country, and a determination to bear with patience their grievances till in due time they should be redressed. A full account of the transactions was transmitted to Congress and published in their journals.

The incidents are clearly and briefly related by General Washington in a letter to Governor Harrison of Virginia, written immediately after their occurrence.

"You have not been unacquainted, I dare say, with the fears, the hopes, the apprehensions, and the expectations of the army, relative to the provision which is to be made for them hereafter. Although a firm reliance on the integrity of Congress, and a belief that the public would finally do justice to all its servants and give an indisputable security for the payment of the half-pay of the officers, had kept them amidst a variety of sufferings tolerably quiet and contented for two or three years past; yet the total want of pay, the little prospect of receiving any from the unpromising state of the public finances, and the absolute aversion of the States to establish any Continental funds for the payment of the debt due to the army, did at the close of the last campaign excite greater discontents, and

threaten more serious and alarming consequences, than it is easy for me to describe or you to conceive. Happily for us, the officers of highest rank and greatest consideration interposed; and it was determined to address Congress in an humble, pathetic, and explicit manner.

"While the sovereign power appeared perfectly well disposed to do justice, it was discovered that the States would enable them to do nothing; and, in this state of affairs, and after some time spent on the business in Philadelphia, a report was made by the delegates of the army, giving a detail of the proceedings. Before this could be fully communicated to the troops, while the minds of all were in a peculiar state of inquietude and irritation, an anonymous writer, though he did not step forth and give his name boldly to the world, sent into circulation an address to the officers of the army, which, in point of composition, in elegance and force of expression, has rarely been equalled in the English language, and in which the dreadful alternative was proposed, of relinquishing the service in a body if the war continued, or retaining their arms in case of peace, until Congress should comply with all their demands. At the same time, and at the moment when their minds were inflamed by the most pathetic representations, a general meeting of the officers was summoned by another anonymous production.

"It is impossible to say what would have been the consequences, had the author succeeded in his first plans. But, measures having been taken to postpone the meeting, so as to give time for cool reflection and counteraction, the good sense of the officers has terminated this affair in a manner, which reflects the greatest glory on themselves, and demands the highest expressions of gratitude from their country."

Thus, by the prudent measures of the Commander-in-chief, the excitement was allayed, and tranquillity was restored to the army. Nor did he delay to fulfil the pledge he had made, writing to Congress with an earnestness and force of argument, which showed him to be moved not less by his feelings, than by a sense of duty in asserting the rights and just claims of those, who, to use his own words, "had so long, so patiently, and so cheerfully suffered and fought under his direction," and urging a speedy decision in their favor. His representations and appeals were not disregarded. The subject was again considered in Congress, and the requisite number of States voted for the commutation of half-pay, and for the other provisions solicited by the officers in their memorial.*

In a few days the joyful news arrived, that a preliminary treaty of peace had been signed at Paris. The intelligence was brought in a French vessel from Cadiz, with a letter from the Marquis de Lafayette, who was then at that place, preparing for an expedition to the West Indies under Count d'Estaing. Shortly afterwards Sir Guy Carleton communicated the same, as from official authority, and announced a cessation of hostilities. A proclamation to this effect was made to the American army on the 19th of April, precisely eight years from the day on which the first blood was shed in this memorable contest at Lexington.

Although the military labors of General Washington were now drawing to a close, in the attainment of the great object to which he had devoted himself with an

* The anonymous addresses were from the pen of Major John Armstrong, at that time an aid-de-camp to General Gates. They were written at the request of several officers, who believed that the tardy proceedings of Congress, and the reluctance of that body to recognise the claims of the public creditors, called for a more decided expression of the sentiments of the army.

ardor, constancy, endurance, and singleness of purpose, that had never been surpassed by any commander, yet his anxiety for the future was scarcely diminished. The love of liberty, which had prompted him to such trials and disinterested exertions in the cause of his country, was equally alive to the success of that cause in building up the fabric of freedom on a firm and durable basis. In a letter to Colonel Hamilton, who was then a delegate in Congress from the State of New York, he said; "My wish to see the union of these States established upon liberal and permanent principles, and inclination to contribute my mite in pointing out the defects of the present constitution, are equally great. All my private letters have teemed with these sentiments, and, whenever this topic has been the subject of conversation, I have endeavoured to diffuse and enforce them; but how far any further essay by me might be productive of the wished-for end, or appear to arrogate more than belongs to me, depends so much upon popular opinion, and the temper and dispositions of the people, that it is not easy to decide. I shall be obliged to you, however, for the thoughts, which you have promised me on this subject, and as soon as you can make it convenient. No man in the United States is or can be more deeply impressed with the necessity of a reform in our present confederation than myself. No man perhaps has felt the bad effects of it more sensibly; for to the defects thereof, and want of power in Congress, may justly be ascribed the prolongation of the war, and consequently the expenses occasioned by it. More than half the perplexities I have experienced in the course of my command, and almost the whole of the difficulties and distress of the army, have had their origin here. But still, the prejudices of some, the designs of others, and the mere machinery of the

majority, make address and management necessary to give weight to opinions, which are to combat the doctrines of those different classes of men in the field of politics." To Lafayette he wrote; "We are now an independent people, and have yet to learn political tactics. We are placed among the nations of the earth, and have a character to establish; but how we shall acquit ourselves, time must discover. The probability is (at least I fear it), that local or State politics will interfere too much with the more liberal and extensive plan of government, which wisdom and foresight, freed from the mist of prejudice, would dictate; and that we shall be guilty of many blunders in treading this boundless theatre, before we shall have arrived at any perfection in this art; in a word, that the experience, which is purchased at the price of difficulties and distress, will alone convince us, that the honor, power, and true interest of this country must be measured by a Continental scale, and that every departure therefrom weakens the Union, and may ultimately break the band which holds us together. To avert these evils, to form a new constitution, that will give consistency, stability, and dignity to the Union, and sufficient powers to the great council of the nation for general purposes, is a duty incumbent upon every man, who wishes well to his country, and will meet with my aid as far as it can be rendered in the private walks of life."

The preparation of a plan for a peace establishment, which had been solicited by Congress, and some preliminary arrangements with the British commander in regard to the evacuation of New York, occupied him several weeks. For these latter objects he had a personal conference with Sir Guy Carleton at Orangetown.

The circular letter, which he wrote to the governors of the States, as his last official communication, and

which was designed to be laid before the several legislatures, is remarkable for its ability, the deep interest it manifests for the officers and soldiers, who had fought the battles of their country, the soundness of its principles, and the wisdom of its counsels. Four great points he aims to enforce as essential in guiding the deliberations of every public body, and as claiming the serious attention of every citizen, namely, an indissoluble union of the States; a sacred regard to public justice; the adoption of a proper military peace establishment; and a pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the States, which should induce them to forget local prejudices, and incline them to mutual concessions for the advantage of the community. These he calls the pillars by which alone independence and national character can be supported. On each of these topics he remarks at considerable length, with a felicity of style and cogency of reasoning in all respects worthy of the subject. No public address could have been better adapted to the state of the times; and, coming from such a source, its influence on the minds of the people must have been effectual and most salutary.

Many of the troops went home on furlough; and General Washington, having little to do in camp till the arrival of the definitive treaty, resolved to employ the interval in making a tour to the northward, for the double purpose of gratifying his curiosity in visiting the scenes of the late military operations in that quarter, and of ascertaining from observation the natural resources of the country. In company with Governor Clinton he ascended the Hudson to Albany, and proceeded thence over the battle-fields of Saratoga, as far as Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Turning then to the Mohawk River, he extended his journey westward

to Fort Schuyler. He was absent from Newburg nineteen days. Ever regarding the condition and affairs of his country on a comprehensive scale, and fixing his thoughts on its importance as a nation, he saw, while on this tour, the immense advantages that would result from a water communication between the Hudson and the great Lakes, and believed in its practicability. His hopes and his anticipations have since been realized in the magnificent work, opening a passage for boats by a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and effected by the enterprise and wealth of the State of New York.

When he returned to Newburg, he found a letter from the President of Congress, asking his attendance on that assembly, then in session at Princeton. The object of this request was, to consult him on the arrangements for peace, and other public concerns. While he was making preparations to leave camp, Congress conferred on him new honors. It was voted unanimously, that an equestrian statue of General Washington should be erected at the place where the residence of Congress should be established, and that it should be executed by the best artist in Europe, under the superintendence of the Minister of the United States at the Court of Versailles.*

* The following is the description of this statue, as contained in the Journals of Congress. "Resolved, that the statue be of bronze; the General to be represented in a Roman dress, holding a truncheon in his right hand, and his head encircled with a laurel wreath; the statue to be supported by a marble pedestal, on which are to be represented, in *basso-rilievo*, the following principal events of the war, in which General Washington commanded in person; namely, the evacuation of Boston; the capture of the Hessians at Trenton; the battle of Princeton; the action of Monmouth; and the surrender of York. On the upper part of the front of the pedestal to be engraved as follows, '*The United States in Congress assembled, ordered this statue to be erected in the year of our Lord* 1783, *in honor of George Washington, the illustrious Commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States of America during*

Leaving the army under the immediate command of General Knox, the officers higher in rank having gone home by permission, Washington obeyed the summons of Congress, and went to Princeton, where he was introduced into the assembly while in session by two of the members appointed for the purpose. He was then addressed by the President, who congratulated him on the success of the war, in which he had acted so conspicuous and important a part. "In other nations," said the President, "many have performed eminent services, for which they have deserved

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the war, which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty, and independence.' "

The intention of this resolve was not fulfilled. The statue has never been made. Three statues of Washington have been executed, by three of the most eminent artists in modern times; the first by Houdon, the second by Canova, and the third by Chantrey. The statue by Houdon, procured by the State of Virginia, stands in the Capitol at Richmond, and is believed to be as perfect a resemblance of the original, both in the features and the figure, as the sculptor's art will admit. The costume is modern, being that in which General Washington was accustomed to appear as Commander-in-chief. Critics have objected to this style of dress, as neither classical, graceful, nor suited to the dignity of the art. However this may be, it will always give pleasure as presenting an exact representation, and as calling up historical associations. Canova's statue was made for the State of North Carolina. It is in a sitting posture, with a Roman costume. The artist aimed to exhibit his conception of the character, rather than the bodily resemblance, of Washington. This splendid specimen of art has been mutilated, and nearly destroyed, by a fire which consumed the Capitol at Raleigh. Chantrey's statue was procured by a private subscription, and is placed in the State-house at Boston. The costume is a military cloak, which displays the figure to advantage. The effect is imposing and good; but, instead of confining himself to a close delineation of features, the sculptor, like Canova, has allowed some latitude to his genius in expressing his idea of the character of his subject. The Washington Monument at Baltimore, in memory of the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, is a tribute worthy of the name, and most honorable to the liberality and public spirit by which it was erected. Congress have recently voted a colossal statue in marble, which is to be executed by Greenough, the distinguished American artist at Florence. It is to occupy the centre of the great rotunda in the Capitol at the seat of the national legislature.

the thanks of the public. But to you, Sir, peculiar praise is due. Your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country. They deserve the grateful acknowledgements of a free and independent nation." To this address Washington replied in the presence of Congress, and then retired. A house was provided for him at Rocky Hill, three or four miles from Princeton, where he resided, holding conferences from time to time with committees and members of Congress, and giving counsel on such subjects as were referred to his consideration.

A large part of the officers and soldiers had been permitted during the summer to retire from the army on furlough, and Congress issued a proclamation, on the 18th of October, discharging them from further service, and all others who had been engaged to serve during the war. The army was thus in effect disbanded. A small force only was retained, consisting of such troops as had been enlisted for a definite time, till the peace establishment should be organized. This proclamation was followed by General Washington's farewell address to the army, a performance not less admirable in its principles and its objects, than his circular letter to the States. To his cordial and affectionate thanks for the devotedness of the officers and soldiers to him through the war, and for the manner in which they had discharged their duty, he adds seasonable advice as to their conduct in resuming the character of private citizens, and in contributing to the support of civil government. "Let it be known and remembered," said he, "that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still incite the men, who composed them, to honorable

actions; under the persuasion, that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance, and enterprise were in the field. Every one may rest assured, that much, very much, of the future happiness of the officers and men will depend upon the wise and manly conduct, which shall be adopted by them when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And, although the General has so frequently given it as his opinion in the most public and explicit manner, that, unless the principles of the Federal Government were properly supported, and the powers of the Union increased, the honor, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost for ever; yet he cannot help repeating, on this occasion, so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow citizens towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends."

At length Sir Guy Carleton received orders from the ministry to evacuate New York, and gave notice to General Washington that he should soon be ready for that event. Delay had been occasioned by the want of transports in sufficient number to send to Nova Scotia the refugees, who had sought protection in New York during the war, and the large amount of goods, stores, and military supplies, which had accumulated in that city. Many of these persons would gladly have remained in the country, having property which they desired to recover, and relatives and friends whom they were reluctant to abandon; but they were exiled by the laws of the States, and could not be admitted

to the privileges of a residence till these laws were repealed.

Washington repaired to West Point, to which place General Knox had drawn the troops, that still remained in the service. Arrangements were made with Governor Clinton, the chief magistrate of the State of New York, by which the city was to be delivered into his charge. A detachment of troops marched from West Point to Haerlem, and was joined there by General Washington and Governor Clinton. In the morning of the 25th of November, they advanced to the upper part of the city, where they continued till one o'clock, when the British parties retired from the posts in that quarter, and were followed by the American infantry and artillery, preceded by a corps of dragoons. Meantime the British troops embarked. Possession being thus taken of the city, the military officers, and the civil officers of the State, made a public entry. The General and Governor rode at the head of the procession on horseback. Then came in regular succession the lieutenant-governor and members of the council, General Knox and the officers of the army, the speaker of the assembly and citizens. They were escorted by a body of Westchester light-horse, as a compliment to the Governor and civil authority; the Continental military jurisdiction being supposed to have ceased, or at least to have been suspended in deference to the civil power of the State. Governor Clinton gave a public entertainment, with which the transactions of the day were closed. Perfect order and quiet prevailed from the beginning to the end, and no untoward incident occurred to mar the interest of an occasion, which had been so long wished for, and was so joyfully welcomed.

A trial of feeling now awaited the Commander-in-

chief, which for the moment was more severe and painful, than any he had been called to bear. The time had arrived, when he was to bid a final adieu to his companions in arms, to many of whom he was bound by the strongest ties of friendship, and for all of whom he felt a lively gratitude and sincere regard. "This affecting interview took place on the 4th of December. At noon, the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances's tavern, soon after which, their beloved commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and said, 'With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish, that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.' Having drank, he added, 'I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. The tear of manly sensibility was in every eye; and not a word was articulated to interrupt the dignified silence, and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to White Hall, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, bid them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment; and, after the barge had left

them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled."*

Congress had adjourned from Princeton to Annapolis in Maryland. Washington travelled slowly to that place, greeted everywhere on the road by the acclamations of his fellow citizens, and the most gratifying tokens of their love and respect. As he passed along, public addresses were presented to him by the legislatures of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the Philosophical Society and University in Philadelphia, citizens of towns in their corporate capacity, religious societies, and various incorporated associations. Arrived at the seat of Congress, he informed the President, that he was ready to resign the commission, with which he had been honored in the service of his country. This ceremony was performed in the Hall of Congress on the 23d of December, all the members and a large concourse of spectators being present. At the close of his address on this occasion, he said; "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." He then advanced and gave his commission into the hands of the President, who replied to his address. The ceremony being ended, he withdrew from the assembly, divested of his official character, and sustaining no other rank than that of a private citizen.

The next morning he left Annapolis and reached Mount Vernon the same day, having been absent in the command of the army somewhat more than eight

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, 2d edition, Vol. II. p. 57.

years and a half, during which period he had never been at his own house except accidentally while on his way with Count de Rochambeau to Yorktown, and in returning from that expedition.

CHAPTER XV.

He declines receiving pecuniary Compensation for his public Services. — His Feelings on being relieved from the Burden of Office. — Devotes himself to Agriculture. — Makes a Tour to the Western Country. — His extensive Plans for internal Navigation. — These Plans adopted by the State of Virginia. — Visit of the Marquis de Lafayette to America. — Washington refuses to accept a Donation from the State of Virginia. — His liberal Acts for the Encouragement of Education. Approves the Countess of Huntington's Scheme for civilizing and Christianizing the Indians. — His Operations in Farming and Horticulture. — Visiters at Mount Vernon. — His Habits. — Houdon's Statue. — Condition of the Country and Defects of the Confederacy. — Washington's Sentiments thereon. — First Steps towards effecting a Reform. — Convention at Annapolis. — Proposal for a general Convention, and Washington appointed a Delegate from Virginia. — His Reasons for wishing to decline. — Society of the Cincinnati. — Washington accepts the Appointment as Delegate. — Attends the Convention, is chosen its President, and affixes his Name to the New Constitution. — His Opinion of the Constitution. — It is adopted by the People. — Washington chosen the first President of the United States.

General Washington believed his career as a public man to be now at an end. He seems indeed to have formed a resolution never again to leave his retirement, unless called out by some great exigency in the affairs of his country, which at that time he neither foresaw nor expected. However much he might have been gratified with the honors bestowed upon him by his countrymen, with the success of his long and unwearied services, and the applause of the whole civilized world, it was nevertheless with a heartfelt delight which none of these could give, that he returned to the quiet scenes and congenial employments of private life. For we may here repeat what has been said in a former part of this narrative, that no occupations interested him so much, or engaged his thoughts so constantly, as those of the

practical agriculturist. He was fond of adorning and improving his grounds as an amusement, and was devoted to the cultivation of his farms, upon a thorough, economical, and systematic plan, both as a means of increasing his property, and as being suited to his tastes and early habits.

His first care, after establishing himself at Mount Vernon, was to examine minutely into the state of his private affairs, which had become deranged by his long absence and the disorders of the times. His fortune was ample for a republican citizen, and a man who derived neither consequence nor pleasure from display, but it had necessarily suffered a diminution during the war. Adhering rigidly to the resolution he had formed, when he accepted the command of the army, not to receive any remuneration from the public, either in the shape of pay or other pecuniary reward, he now considered it a duty to repair the losses he had sustained, as well by economy in his style of living, as by all the usual efforts to increase the productiveness of his estates.

Some of his countrymen, estimating his services to the public at their just value, and knowing the injury his private affairs had suffered in consequence of them, hoped to change his purpose of refusing pecuniary compensation. A few days before he resigned his commission, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania sent the following instructions on this subject to the delegates in Congress from that State.

"Though his Excellency General Washington proposes in a short time to retire, yet his illustrious actions and virtues render his character so splendid and venerable, that, it is highly probable, the admiration and esteem of the world may make his life in a very considerable degree public, as numbers will be de-

sirous of seeing the great and good man, who has so eminently contributed to the happiness of a nation. His very services to his country may therefore subject him to expenses, unless he permits her gratitude to interpose.

"We are perfectly acquainted with the disinterestedness and generosity of his soul. He thinks himself amply rewarded for all his labors and cares, by the love and prosperity of his fellow citizens. It is true, no rewards they can bestow can be equal to his merits. But they ought not to suffer those merits to be burdensome to him. We are convinced that the people of Pennsylvania would regret such a consequence.

"We are aware of the delicacy, with which this subject must be treated. But, relying upon the good sense of Congress, we wish it may engage their early attention."

These instructions were received by the delegates, and a copy was forwarded to General Washington after he had arrived at Mount Vernon. It was not thought advisable to lay them before Congress, or take any steps in fulfilling them, without his previous knowledge and approbation. In this case, as in every other, he acted consistently with his character. He promptly declined the intended favor. All proceedings on the subject were accordingly stopped. There can be no doubt, that the sentiments of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania would have been responded to by the whole nation, and that a liberal grant from Congress would everywhere have met with a cordial assent.

The feelings of Washington, on being relieved from the solicitude and burdens of office, were forcibly expressed in letters to his friends. "At length," said

he, in writing to Lafayette, "I am become a private citizen, on the banks of the Potomac; and, under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame, the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all, and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life, with a heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the order for my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers."

To General Knox he wrote; "I am just beginning to experience that ease and freedom from public cares, which, however desirable, takes some time to realize; for, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that it was not till lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating, as soon as I waked in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day; and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a public man, nor had any thing to do with public transactions. I feel now, however, as I conceive a wearied traveller must do, who, after treading many a painful step with a heavy burden on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed; and from his house-top is looking

back, and tracing with an eager eye the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay in his way; and into which none but the all-powerful Guide and Dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling."

The time and thoughts of Washington were now confined to his farms, and to such acts of hospitality as were demanded by the numerous visits from strangers and his acquaintances, who were drawn to Mount Vernon by motives of curiosity, admiration, and respect. However onerous these visits might be, on some occasions, his house was open to all that came, and his personal civilities were so rendered as to strengthen the affections of his friends, and win the esteem of those who had known him only by his fame, and revered him for his public character. And it is but just to say, that in all these duties Mrs. Washington performed her part with such discretion, assiduity, and courtesy, without ostentation on the one hand or constraint on the other, as, at the same time that it proved the goodness of her heart and her power to please, insured the comfort and enjoyment of her guests, and convinced them of the domestic harmony and happiness, that reigned in the mansion at Mount Vernon.

In the month of September, 1784, Washington made a tour to the Western country, for the purpose of inspecting the lands he owned beyond the Allegany Mountains, and also of ascertaining the practicability of opening a communication between the head-waters of the rivers running eastward into the Atlantic, and those that flow westward to the Ohio. The extent of this journey was six hundred and eighty miles, the whole of which he travelled on horseback, using pack-horses for the conveyance of a tent, the neces-

sary baggage, and such supplies as could not be procured in the wild and unsettled regions through which he was to pass. He crossed the mountains by the usual route of Braddock's Road, and spent several days in surveying and inspecting his lands on the Monongahela River, a part of which was occupied by settlers. His first intention was to descend the Ohio, as he had done in the year 1770, to the Great Kenhawa, where he owned a large tract of wild land; but the hostile temper of the Indians rendering this expedition hazardous, and the motive not being strong enough to induce him to run risks, he advanced westward no farther than the Monongahela. Returning by a circuitous route, he passed through the heart of the wilderness, first ascending the Monongahela River, and thence traversing the country far to the south between the ridges of the Allegany Mountains, with the special view of deciding the question in his own mind, whether the Potomac and James Rivers could be connected by internal navigation with the western waters. He conversed on the subject with every intelligent person he met, and kept a journal in which he recorded the results of his observations and inquiries.

His thoughts had been turned to this enterprise before the revolution; and, since the peace, he had used unwearied diligence by an extensive correspondence to procure facts respecting the rivers falling into the Ohio from the west, and into the great Lakes, and also the distances from various navigable points in those rivers and lakes to the head waters of the streams flowing towards the Atlantic. Soon after returning from his western tour, he communicated to the governor of Virginia the fruits of his investigations in a letter, one of the ablest, most sagacious, and most important productions of his pen. Presenting first a

clear state of the question, and showing the practicability of facilitating the intercourse of trade between the east and the west by improving and extending the water communications, he then proceeds by a train of unanswerable argument and illustration to explain the immense advantages, that would arise from such a measure, in strengthening the union of the States, multiplying the resources of trade, and promoting the prosperity of the country.

"I need not remark to you," said he, "that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too; nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds, especially that part of it, which lies immediately west of us, with the middle States. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people? How entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right, and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling-blocks in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive (from the emigration of foreigners, who will have no particular predilection towards us, as well as from the removal of our own citizens), will be the consequence of their having formed close connexions with both or either of those powers, in a commercial way? It needs not, in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell.

"The western States (I speak now from my own observation) stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way. They have looked down the Mississippi, until the Spaniards, very impolitically I think for themselves, threw difficulties

in their way; and they looked that way for no other reason, than because they could glide gently down the stream; without considering, perhaps, the difficulties of the voyage back again, and the time necessary to perform it in; and because they have no other means of coming to us but by long land transportations and unimproved roads. These causes have hitherto checked the industry of the present settlers; for, except the demand for provisions, occasioned by the increase of population, and a little flour, which the necessities of the Spaniards compel them to buy, they have no incitements to labor. But smooth the road, and make easy the way for them, and then see what an influx of articles will be poured upon us; how amazingly our exports will be increased by them, and how amply we shall be compensated for any trouble and expense we may encounter to effect it.

"A combination of circumstances makes the present conjuncture more favorable for Virginia, than for any other State in the Union, to fix these matters. The jealous and untoward disposition of the Spaniards on one hand, and the private views of some individuals, coinciding with the general policy of the court of Great Britain, on the other, to retain as long as possible the posts of Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego, (which, though done under the letter of the treaty, is certainly an infraction of the spirit of it, and injurious to the Union,) may be improved to the greatest advantage by this State, if she would open the avenues to the trade of that country, and embrace the present moment to establish it. It only wants a beginning. The western inhabitants would do their part towards its execution. Weak as they are, they would meet us at least half way, rather than be driven into the arms of foreigners, or be made dependent upon them; which would

eventually either bring on a separation of them from us, or a war between the United States and one or the other of those powers, most probably with the Spaniards."

At this time the State of Virginia, being large and powerful, stretching on one side to the Atlantic ocean and on the other to the western waters, and having in its bosom two noble rivers descending from the summits of the Alleganies, he thought the most favorably situated for beginning the great work. He recommended, therefore, as a preliminary step, that commissioners should be appointed to survey the Potomac and James Rivers from tide-water to their sources, and the portages between them and the principal western streams, following these streams to their junction with the Ohio, measuring with accuracy the distances, noting the obstructions to be removed, and estimating the probable expense. He also advised a similar survey of the rivers west of the Ohio as far as Detroit. "These things being done," said he, "I shall be mistaken if prejudice does not yield to facts, jealousy to candor, and finally, if reason and nature, thus aided, do not dictate what is right and proper to be done." The governor laid this letter before the legislature. It was the first suggestion of the great system of internal improvements, which has since been pursued in the United States.

A short time before his journey to the west, Washington had the satisfaction of receiving at Mount Vernon the Marquis de Lafayette, for whom he cherished the warmest friendship, heightened by gratitude for the disinterestedness and ardor with which he had espoused the cause of American freedom, and the signal services he had rendered. Two or three months were passed by Lafayette in the middle and eastern

States, and in November he arrived at Richmond in Virginia. Washington met him at that place, where they were both received with public honors by the legislature then in session. They returned together to Mount Vernon; and, when Lafayette's visit was concluded, Washington accompanied him on his way to Annapolis. In a letter to Lafayette's wife he said; "We restore the Marquis to you in good health, crowned with wreaths of love and respect from every part of the Union." The parting of the two friends was affecting, and showed the strength of the ties by which they were united. As soon as he reached home, Washington wrote to him as follows. "In the moment of our separation, upon the road as I travelled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connexion, and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I ever should have of you? And, though I wished to say No, my fears answered Yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled to return no more; that I was now descending the hill I had been fifty-two years climbing, and that, though I was blest with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers. These thoughts darkened the shades, and gave a gloom to the picture, and consequently to my prospect of seeing you again." This melancholy presage was fulfilled. They never met afterwards. But their attachment remained indissoluble, and Washington lived to sympathize in the misfortunes of his friend, and to have the consolation of using all the means in his power to rescue him from the sufferings he so long endured in a cruel imprisonment.

The hopes of General Washington, in regard to his favorite scheme of internal navigation were more than realized. The legislature of Virginia, after duly considering his letter to the governor, not only appointed the commission for surveys, but organized two companies, called the Potomac Company and the James River Company, for the purpose of carrying the plan into effect. They moreover complimented him, without a dissenting voice, by a donation of fifty shares in the former company, and one hundred shares in the latter; the fifty shares being estimated at ten thousand dollars, and the others at five thousand pounds sterling. Aware of his delicacy on the subject of receiving money from the public, the legislature contrived to frame the preamble of the act in such language, as, it was hoped, would remove his scruples. "It is the desire of the representatives of this commonwealth to embrace every suitable occasion of testifying their sense of the unexampled merits of George Washington towards his country; and it is their wish in particular, that those great works for its improvement, which, both as springing from the liberty which he has been so instrumental in establishing, and as encouraged by his patronage, will be durable monuments of his glory, may be made monuments also of the gratitude of his country."

If he was highly gratified, as he must have been, with this public testimony of affection and respect, he was scarcely less embarrassed by it. Not that he hesitated, as to the course he should pursue; but the grant had been made in so liberal a manner, and from motives so pure, that he feared a refusal might be regarded in an unfavorable light, as evincing either ingratitude to his friends, or a disposition to gain applause by a show of disinterestedness, unusual if not unnecessary. He stated his difficulties freely in

private letters to the governor, and to some of the principal members of the legislature; declaring, at the same time, that he could not, consistently with his principles, accept the proffered gift in such a way, that he should derive from it any emolument to himself. A positive decision was not required till the next session of the legislature, when he wrote officially to the governor declining the grant, but, lest the operations of the companies should be retarded by withdrawing the subscriptions for the shares, which had been made by the treasurer on his account, he suggested, that, if the Assembly should think proper to submit to him the appropriation of them for some object of a public nature, he would accept the trust. His proposition was cheerfully acceded to; and, by an act of the Assembly, the shares were assigned to such public objects, as he should direct during his life, or by his last will and testament.

The purpose, which he first had in view, was the encouragement of education, and this purpose was ultimately accomplished. Some time before his death he made over the shares in the James River Company to an institution in Rockbridge County, then called Liberty Hall Academy. The name has since been changed to Washington College. The fifty shares in the Potomac Company he bequeathed in perpetuity for the endowment of a university in the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the government; and, if such a seminary should not be established by the government, the fund was to increase till it should be adequate, with such other resources as might be obtained, for the accomplishment of the design. The establishing of a national university was always one of his favorite schemes. He recommended it in his messages to Congress, and often in his letters spoke

of the advantages which would be derived from it to the nation.*

It may here be added, that he was a zealous advocate for schools and literary institutions of every kind, and sought to promote them, whenever an opportunity offered, by his public addresses and by private benefactions. In this spirit he accepted the chancellorship of William and Mary College, being earnestly solicited by the trustees. In his answer to them, accepting the appointment, he said; "I rely fully in your strenuous endeavours for placing the system on such a basis, as will render it most beneficial to the State and the republic of letters, as well as to the more extensive interests of humanity and religion." The chancellor's duty consisted chiefly in suggesting and approving measures for the management of the college, and in recommending professors and teachers to fill vacancies in the departments of instruction.

The acts of charity by which he contributed from his private means to foster education were not few nor small. During many years, he gave fifty pounds annually for the instruction of indigent children in Alexandria; and by will he left a legacy of four thousand dollars, the net income of which was to be used for the same benevolent object for ever. Two or three instances are known, in which he offered to pay the expenses of young men through their collegiate course. When General Greene died, he proposed to take under his protection one of the sons of his departed friend,

* The donation to Washington College has been productive, and the proceeds arising from it have contributed essential aid to that institution. No part of the other fund has been as yet employed for literary purposes. The Potomac Company seems to have been merged in the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. The shares appropriated by Washington's will are doubtless held in trust by the latter company for their destined object.

pay the charges of his education, and bring him forward into life. Fortunately the circumstances, in which General Greene left his family, rendered this act of munificence and paternal care unnecessary. Other examples might be cited; and, from his cautious habit of concealing from the world his deeds of charity, it may be presumed many others are unknown, in which his heart and his hand were open to the relief of indigent merit.

The Countess of Huntington, celebrated for her religious enthusiasm and liberal charities, formed a scheme for civilizing and Christianizing the North American Indians. Being a daughter of the Earl of Ferrers, who was descended through the female line from a remote branch of the Washington family, she claimed a relationship to General Washington, and wrote to him several letters respecting her project of benevolence and piety in America. It was her design to form, at her own charge, in the neighbourhood of some of the Indian tribes, a settlement of industrious emigrants, who, by their example and habits, should gradually introduce among them the arts of civilization; and missionaries were to teach them the principles of Christianity. Lady Huntington proposed, that the government of the United States should grant a tract of wild lands, upon which her emigrants and missionaries should establish themselves. A scheme, prompted by motives so pure, and founded on so rational a basis, gained at once the approbation and countenance of Washington. He wrote to the President of Congress, and to the governors of some of the States, expressing favorable sentiments of Lady Huntington's application. Political and local reasons interfered to defeat the plan. In the first place, it was thought doubtful whether a colony of foreigners settled on the western

frontier, near the English on one side and the Spaniards on the other, would in the end prove conducive to the public tranquillity. And, in the next place, the States individually had ceded all their wild lands to the Union, and Congress were not certain that they possessed power to grant any portion of the new territory for such an object. Hence the project was laid aside, although Washington offered to facilitate it as far as he could on a smaller scale, by allowing settlers to occupy his own lands, and be employed according to Lady Huntington's views.

In the spring of 1785, he was engaged for several weeks in planting his grounds at Mount Vernon with trees and shrubs. To this interesting branch of husbandry he had devoted considerable attention before the war, and during that period he had endeavoured to carry out his plans of improvement. In some of his letters from camp, he gave minute directions to his manager for removing and planting trees; but want of skill and other causes prevented these directions from being complied with, except in a very imperfect manner. The first year after the war, he applied himself mainly to farming operations, with the view of restoring his neglected fields and commencing a regular system of practical agriculture. He gradually abandoned the cultivation of tobacco, which exhausted his lands, and substituted wheat and grass, as better suited to the soil, and in the aggregate more profitable. He began a new method of rotation of crops, in which he studied the particular qualities of the soil in the different parts of his farms, causing wheat, maize, potatoes, oats, grass, and other crops to succeed each other in the same field at stated times. So exact was he in this method, that he drew out a scheme in which all his fields were numbered, and the crops

assigned to them for several years in advance. It proved so successful, that he pursued it to the end of his life, with occasional slight deviations by way of experiment.

Having thus arranged and systematized his agricultural operations, he now set himself at work in earnest to execute his purpose of planting and adorning the grounds around the mansion-house. In the direction of the left wing, and at a considerable distance, was a vegetable garden; and on the right, at an equal distance, was another garden for ornamental shrubs, plants, and flowers. Between these gardens, in front of the house, was a spacious lawn, surrounded by serpentine walks. Beyond the gardens and lawn were the orchards. Very early in the spring he began with the lawn, selecting the choicest trees from the woods on his estates, and transferring them to the borders of the serpentine walks, arranging them in such a manner as to produce symmetry and beauty in the general effect, intermingling in just proportions forest trees, evergreens, and flowering shrubs. He attended personally to the selection, removal, and planting of every tree; and his Diary, which is very particular from day to day through the whole process, proves that he engaged in it with intense interest, and anxiously watched each tree and shoot till it showed signs of renewed growth. Such trees as were not found on his own lands, he obtained from other parts of the country, and at length his design was completed according to his wishes.

The orchards, gardens, and green-houses were next replenished with all the varieties of rare fruit-trees, vegetables, shrubs, and flowering plants, which he could procure. This was less easily accomplished; but, horticulture being with him a favorite pursuit, he con-

tinued during his life to make new accessions of fruits and plants, both native and exotic. Pruning trees was one of his amusements; and in the proper season he might be seen almost daily in his grounds and gardens with a pruning-hook or other horticultural implements in his hands. Skilful gardeners were sought by him from Europe, whose knowledge and experience enabled him to execute his plans. Although relieved from public cares, he soon discovered, that the prospect, which he had so fondly cherished, of enjoying the repose of retirement, was much brighter than the reality. Writing to General Knox, he said, "It is not the letters from my friends, which give me trouble, or add aught to my perplexity. It is references to old matters, with which I have nothing to do; applications which oftentimes cannot be complied with; inquiries which would require the pen of an historian to satisfy; letters of compliment, as unmeaning perhaps as they are troublesome, but which must be attended to; and the commonplace business, which employs my pen and my time, often disagreeably. Indeed these, with company, deprive me of exercise, and, unless I can obtain relief, must be productive of disagreeable consequences." The applications, of which he complains, were chiefly from officers or other persons, who had been connected with the army, and who wished to obtain from him certificates of character, or of services rendered during the war, or some other statement from his pen, for the purpose of substantiating claims upon the government. His real attachment to all who had served faithfully in the army, as well as his humanity, prompted him to comply with these requests; but in many cases they were unreasonable, and in all troublesome, as they required an examination of his voluminous papers, and a recur-

rence to facts which often could not be easily ascertained. And then his correspondence on topics of public interest, friendship, and civility, with persons in Europe and America, was very extensive. Add to this, his private affairs, the keeping of accounts, and his letters of business. For more than two years after the close of the war he had no clerk or secretary, and he was therefore incessantly employed in writing. At length this labor was in some degree lessened by the aid of Mr. Lear, who became his secretary, and resided in his family many years on terms of intimate friendship.

The multitude of visiters at Mount Vernon increased. They came from the Old World and the New. Among them were foreigners of distinction, particularly from France and other countries on the continent of Europe, bringing letters of introduction from the Marquis de Lafayette, Count de Rochambeau, Count d'Estaing, and some of the other general officers, who had served in America. The celebrated authoress and champion of liberty, Catharine Macaulay Graham, professed to have crossed the Atlantic for the sole purpose of testifying in person her admiration of the character and deeds of Washington. His own countrymen, in every part of the Union, as may well be supposed, were not less earnest in their good will, or less ready to prove their respect and attachment. Some came to keep alive friendship, some to ask counsel on public affairs, and many to gratify a natural and ardent curiosity. This throng of visiters necessarily demanded much of his time; but in other respects the task of receiving them was made easy by the admirable economy of the household under the management of Mrs. Washington.

His habits were uniform, and nearly the same as they had been previously to the war. He rose before the sun,

and employed himself in his study, writing letters or reading, till the hour of breakfast. When breakfast was over, his horse was ready at the door, and he rode to his farms and gave directions for the day to the managers and laborers. Horses were likewise prepared for his guests, whenever they chose to accompany him, or to amuse themselves by excursions into the country. Returning from his fields, and despatching such business as happened to be on hand, he went again to his study, and continued there till three o'clock, when he was summoned to dinner. The remainder of the day and the evening were devoted to company, or to recreation in the family circle. At ten he retired to rest. From these habits he seldom deviated, unless compelled to do so by particular circumstances.

The State of Virginia having resolved to erect a statue in honor of General Washington, the governor was authorized to employ an artist in Europe to execute it. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson, then in Paris, were commissioned to select the artist and make the contract. They chose M. Houdon, who was accounted one of the first statuaries of his time. It was the intention, that the statue should bear an exact resemblance to the original. M. Houdon engaged in the undertaking with great enthusiasm, and came to America in the same vessel, that conveyed Dr. Franklin home from his long and brilliant mission to France. He was at Mount Vernon three weeks, in the month of October, 1785, and modelled a bust of General Washington, as exact in all its lineaments as his skill could make it. The statue is a precise copy of the model, and is undoubtedly the best representation of the original that exists.*

* For a description of it, see above, page 397, note. — Innumerable casts have been taken from moulds formed upon Houdon's bust. It is

However much Washington was devoted to his private pursuits, so congenial to his taste and so exacting in their claims on his attention, yet neither his zeal for the public good, nor the importunity of his correspondents, would allow his thoughts to be withdrawn from the political condition of his country. His opinions were asked and his advice was sought by the patriotic leaders in the public councils, and by such eminent persons as had been his coadjutors in the great work of independence, who now looked with concern upon the system of national government, which was confessedly inadequate to stand by its own strength, much less to sustain the Union of the States. This union had hitherto been preserved by the pressure of war. It was rather the last resort of a stern necessity, than the spontaneous choice of all the thirteen republics. Peace had taken away its main props, and was fast dissolving the slender bands by which it was bound together. Congress was its centre of action; and this body, imperfectly organized, possessing little real authority, never confident in what it possessed, and often distracted by party discords, had become almost powerless. The confederation had proved itself to be defective in many points absolutely essential to the prosperity of a national government, if not to its very existence. The most remarkable of these defects was the want of power to regulate commerce, and to provide for the payment of debts

rare, however, to find an accurate one. The moulds have been so often repeated from imperfect casts, with the attempts of bungling fabricators to correct or improve them, that the features have become changed and distorted, till very little of the original likeness remains, and all the spirit is gone. The busts commonly sold in Italy are from a different artist, probably some one who came to America after Houdon. Their resemblance to Washington is scarcely perceptible. The best casts from Houdon's bust are those executed by Deville, in the Strand, London.

contracted by the confederacy. Without such power it was impossible to execute treaties, fulfil foreign engagements, or cause the nation to be respected abroad; and equally so, to render justice to public creditors at home, and to appease the clamor of discontent and disaffection, which so glaring a breach of public faith would naturally raise.

It was evident to all, that an alarming crisis was near at hand, scarcely less to be dreaded than the war from which the country had just emerged, unless a timely and effectual remedy could be provided. Washington's sentiments were often, freely, and feelingly expressed. "That we have it in our power," said he, "to become one of the most respectable nations upon earth, admits, in my humble opinion, of no doubt, if we would but pursue a wise, just, and liberal policy towards one another, and keep good faith with the rest of the world. That our resources are ample and increasing, none can deny; but, while they are grudgingly applied, or not applied at all, we give a vital stab to public faith, and shall sink, in the eyes of Europe, into contempt. It has long been a speculative question among philosophers and wise men, whether foreign commerce is of real advantage to any country; that is, whether the luxury, effeminacy and corruptions, which are introduced along with it, are counterbalanced by the convenience and wealth which it brings. But the decision of this question is of very little importance to us. We have abundant reason to be convinced, that the spirit of trade, which pervades these States, is not to be restrained. It behoves us then to establish just principles; and this cannot, any more than other matters of national concern, be done by thirteen heads, differently constructed and organized. The necessity, therefore, of a controlling power

is obvious; and why it should be withheld is beyond my comprehension."

Again, in writing to Mr. Jay; "To be fearful of investing Congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authorities for national purposes, appears to me the very climax of popular absurdity and madness. Could Congress exert them for the detriment of the public, without injuring themselves in an equal or greater proportion? Are not their interests inseparably connected with those of their constituents? By the rotation of appointment, must they not mingle frequently with the mass of citizens? Is it not rather to be apprehended, if they were possessed of the powers before described, that the individual members would be induced to use them, on many occasions, very timidly and inefficaciously for fear of losing their popularity and future election? We must take human nature as we find it. Perfection falls not to the share of mortals. Many are of opinion, that Congress have too frequently made use of the suppliant, humble tone of requisition in applications to the States, when they had a right to assert their imperial dignity and command obedience. Be that as it may, requisitions are a perfect nullity where thirteen sovereign, independent, disunited States are in the habit of discussing and refusing compliance with them at their option. Requisitions are actually little better than a jest and a by-word throughout the land. If you tell the legislatures they have violated the treaty of peace, and invaded the prerogatives of the confederacy, they will laugh in your face. What then is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same train for ever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with the circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution

whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme to another. To anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.

"What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing. I am told, that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking; thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find, that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God, that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend."

Nor were his apprehensions confined to the defects in the system of government and the modes of administering it. The intrigues of designing and unprincipled men, little restrained by the arm of an efficient power, were still more to be feared. "There are errors in our national government," he said, "which call for correction; loudly, I would add. We are certainly in a delicate situation; but my fear is, that the people are not yet sufficiently *misled* to retract from error. To be plainer, I think there is more wickedness than ignorance mixed in our councils. Ignorance and design are difficult to combat. Out of these proceed illiberal sentiments, improper jealousies, and a train of evils, which oftentimes in republican governments must be sorely felt before they can be removed. The former, that is ignorance, being a fit soil for the latter to work in, tools are employed which a generous mind would disdain to use; and which nothing but time, and their own puerile or wicked productions,

can show the inefficacy and dangerous tendency of. I think often of our situation, and view it with concern."

Demagogues are the natural fruit of republics; and the fabled Upas could not be more poisonous or desolating to the soil from which it springs. Envious of his superiors, panting for honors which he is conscious he can never deserve, endowed with no higher faculties than cunning and an impudent hardihood, reckless of consequences, and grovelling alike in spirit and motive, the demagogue seeks first to cajole the people, then to corrupt, and last of all to betray and ruin them. When he has brought down the high to a level with himself, and depressed the low till they are pliant to his will, his work is achieved. The treachery of a Cataline or a Borgia may be detected by a fortunate accident, and crushed in its infancy; but the demagogue, under his panoply of falsehood and chicane, may gradually sap the foundations of social order, and his country may be left with no other recompense for the ruin he has wrought and the misery he has caused, than the poor consolation of execrating his name.

In short, the embarrassments growing out of the weakness of the confederacy, the utter inability of Congress to collect the means for paying the public debts or to provide for their security, the jealousies of the States, and the factious spirit of individuals, filled the mind of every true friend to his country with gloom and despondency. Congress had recommended an impost, or rate of duties, which was to be uniform in all the States, and the proceeds of which were to be appropriated to relieve the national wants. The States came tardily into this measure, as it seemed to be yielding a power, which was claimed as a special prerogative of State sovereignty. The States, in

which commerce chiefly centred, were influenced by another motive. A larger amount would be drawn from the revenue in such States, than in others of equal or greater extent, population, and internal wealth. The fact was overlooked or disregarded, that the consumers, wherever they resided, actually paid the impost, and that the commercial States, by controlling the impost in their own ports, enjoyed advantages which the others did not possess. New York never acceded to the recommendation of Congress in such a manner as to make it operative; and, as the success of the measure everywhere depended on the caprice of the legislatures, and a rigid system of collection faithfully administered, there was but little hope of its answering the important end of supplying the national treasury.

A dissolution of the Union, or an early and thorough reform, was inevitable. The mode of effecting the latter, and saving the republic, was a theme upon which Washington dwelt with deep solicitude in his correspondence and conversations with his friends. By a concurrence of favorable circumstances his advice and personal efforts were made available at the beginning of the train of events, which ended in the achievement of the constitution. "To form a compact relative to the navigation of the rivers Potomac and Pocomoke, and of part of the bay of Chesapeake, commissioners were appointed by the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, who assembled at Alexandria, in March, 1785. While at Mount Vernon on a visit, they agreed to propose to their respective governments the appointment of other commissioners, with power to make conjoint arrangements, to which the assent of Congress was to be solicited, for maintaining a naval force in the Chesapeake, and to establish a tariff of duties on imports, to which the laws of both States should

conform. When these propositions received the assent of the legislature of Virginia, an additional resolution was passed, directing that which respected the duties on imports to be communicated to all the States in the Union, which were invited to send deputies to the meeting." *

Accordingly, in January following, the Assembly of Virginia appointed commissioners, who were instructed to meet such as should be appointed by the other States, "to take into consideration the trade of the United States, to examine the relative situation and trade of the said States, to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial relations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony, and to report to the several States such an act relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States in Congress assembled effectually to provide for the same." The commissioners met at Annapolis, in September, 1786. Five States only sent deputies, and some of these came with such limited powers, that it was soon ascertained that nothing could be done towards effecting the object for which they had come together. Their deliberations ended in a report to their respective States, in which they represented the defects of the federal system, and the necessity of a revision. They likewise recommended another convention of deputies from all the States, furnished with requisite powers, who should meet at Philadelphia on the second day of May. At the same time they sent a letter to Congress, accompanied with a copy of their report to the States.

When the legislature of Virginia assembled, the report of the deputies was taken into consideration, and

* MARSHALL'S *Life of Washington*, 2d edition, Vol. II. p. 105.

it was resolved to appoint seven delegates to meet those from the other States in a general convention. Washington's name was put at the head of the list, and he was chosen by a unanimous vote of the representatives. The intelligence was first communicated to him by Mr. Madison, then a member of the Assembly, and afterwards officially by the governor.

He was not a little embarrassed with this choice; for, although he heartily approved the measure, yet he thought there were reasons of a personal nature, which made it inexpedient, if not improper, for him to take any part in it. He did not absolutely decline, but suggested his difficulties, and expressed a hope, that some other person would be appointed in his place. As the weight of his name and the wisdom of his counsels were felt to be extremely important, in giving dignity and success to the proceedings of the convention, and as several months would intervene before the meeting, neither the governor nor his other friends pressed him to a hasty decision, trusting that time and reflection would remove his doubts.

His objections were frankly stated, and they are among the many evidences of his scrupulous regard to directness and consistency in every act of his life. "It is not only inconvenient for me to leave home," said he to the governor, "but there will be, I apprehend, too much cause to charge my conduct with inconsistency in again appearing on a public theatre, after a public declaration to the contrary; and it will, I fear, have a tendency to sweep me back into the tide of public affairs, when retirement and ease are so much desired by me, and so essentially necessary." There can be no doubt, that, when he resigned his commission in the army, he firmly believed nothing could again occur to draw him from the retirement,

to which he returned with such unfeigned satisfaction, and which no other consideration than the superior claims of his country could induce him to forego. On the present occasion he was not convinced, that his services would be more valuable than those of other citizens, whose ability and knowledge of public affairs, as his modesty would persuade him, better qualified them for the task of devising and maturing a system of civil government.

There was another objection, also, which seemed to bear with considerable weight on his mind. At the close of the war some of the officers had formed themselves into an association, called the *Society of the Cincinnati*, the object of which was to establish a bond of union and fellowship between the officers, who had served together during the war, and were then about to be separated, and particularly to raise a permanent fund for the relief of unfortunate members, their widows, and orphans. Although Washington was not concerned in forming this society, yet he was well pleased with its benevolent design, and consented to be its president. Unexpectedly to him, however, and to all others connected with it, a very general dissatisfaction arose throughout the country, in regard to some of the principles upon which the society was founded. It was to be hereditary in the families of the members; it had a badge, or order, offensive in republican eyes, as imitating the European orders of knighthood; it admitted foreign officers, who had served in America, and their descendants; it provided for an indefinite accumulation of funds, which were to be disposed of at the discretion of the members. Discontents grew into clamorous censures. Pamphlets were written against the society, and it was denounced as anti-republican, and a dangerous political engine. At

the first general meeting, which was held at Philadelphia in May, 1784, Washington exerted himself successfully to have the most objectionable features altered, and the articles of association were new modelled conformably to his suggestions. After these changes the alarmists were less vehement in their attacks; but they were not silenced, and the society continued to be looked upon with jealousy and disapprobation.

A second general meeting was to take place in Philadelphia at the time appointed for the assembling of the convention. Before receiving notice that he was chosen a delegate, Washington had written a circular letter to the branches of the Society in the different States, declaring his intention to resign the presidency, and giving reasons why it would be inconvenient for him to attend the general meeting. He thought himself thus placed in a delicate situation. Were he to be present at the convention, the members of the Cincinnati Society might suppose they had just grounds for suspecting his sincerity, or even of charging him with having deserted the officers, who had so nobly supported him during the war, and always manifested towards him uncommon respect and attachment. Having a grateful sense of their affection, and reciprocating in reality all their kind feelings, he was reluctant to put himself in a condition, by which their favorable sentiments would be altered, or their sensibility in any degree wounded.

Again, some of his friends, in various parts of the country expressed themselves doubtingly in their letters, as to the propriety of his going to the convention, and some advised against it. Many thought the scheme illegal, since there was no provision in the articles of the confederation for such a mode of revision, and it had not been proposed by Congress. It was

feared, therefore, that the doings of the convention would end in a failure, and perhaps in the disgrace of the delegates. They, who were perplexed with apprehensions of this sort, were unwilling that the brilliant reputation of Washington should be put to the hazard of being tarnished by an abortive experiment, and believed the interests of the country required it to be held in reserve for a more fitting opportunity.

These obstacles, formidable for a time, were at last removed. Congress took the subject into consideration, and recommended to the States to send delegates to the convention for the purposes mentioned in the Annapolis report. Thus the measure was sanctioned by law. Congress likewise appointed the second Monday in May, as the day for the delegates to assemble at Philadelphia. The time was fixed with reference to the meeting of the Cincinnati, which was to be a week earlier, whereby General Washington would be enabled to join his brethren of that fraternity, should he think proper, and explain his motives for declining to be again elected president.

After these proceedings, and after it was found that the more enlightened part of the community very generally approved the scheme of a convention, his friends everywhere urged him to accept the appointment as one of the delegates from Virginia, and he acceded to their wishes. Another circumstance had much influence in bringing him to this decision. It began to be whispered, that the persons opposed to the convention were at heart monarchists, and that they were glad to see the distractions of the country increasing, till the people should be weary of them, and discover their only hope of security to consist in a strong government, as it was gently called, or, in other words, a constitutional monarchy ; for no one was ever supposed

to dream of a despotic power in America. It has been said and believed, that a small party, in despair of better things, actually meditated such a project, and turned their eyes to some of the royal families in Europe for a sovereign suited to control the jarring elements of republicanism in the United States. However this may be, it is certain that no imagined remedy could have been more severely reprobated by Washington. We have seen with what a stern rebuke the proposal to be a king was met by him, even when he literally had the power of the nation in his hands. From the beginning of the revolution to the end of his life, he was an uncompromising advocate for a republican system. In the abstract he regarded it as the best; and he had faith enough in the virtue of the people, and in the efficacy of their former habits, to convince him that it might be successfully established. At all events, he was for having the experiment thoroughly tried; and his whole conduct proves, that, in regard to himself, he was ready to risk his reputation, his property, and his life, if necessary, in a cause so momentous to the welfare of his country and to the social progress of mankind.

He did not go to the convention unprepared for the great work there to be undertaken. His knowledge of the institutions of his own country and of its political forms, both in their general character and minute and affiliated relations, gained by inquiry and long experience, was probably as complete as that of any other man. But he was not satisfied with this alone. He read the history and examined the principles of the ancient and modern confederacies. There is a paper in his handwriting, which contains an abstract of each, and in which are noted, in a methodical order, their chief characteristics, the kinds of authority they

possessed, their modes of operation, and their defects. The confederacies analyzed in this paper are the Lycian, Amphictyonic, Achæan, Helvetic, Belgic, and Germanic. He also read the standard works on general politics and the science of government, abridging parts of them, according to his usual practice, that he might impress the essential points more deeply on his mind. He was apprehensive, that the delegates might come together fettered with instructions, which would embarrass and retard, if not defeat, the salutary end proposed. "My wish is," said he, "that the convention may adopt no temporizing expedients, but probe the defects of the constitution to the bottom, and provide a radical cure, whether they are agreed to or not. A conduct of this kind will stamp wisdom and dignity on their proceedings, and hold up a light, which sooner or later will have its influence." Such were the preparations, and such the sentiments, with which he went to the convention.

His arrival at Philadelphia was attended with public honors. At Chester he was met by General Mifflin, Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and several officers and gentlemen of distinction, who proceeded with him from that place. At Gray's Ferry a company of light-horse took charge of him, and escorted him into the city. His first visit was to Dr. Franklin, at that time President of Pennsylvania. All the States were represented in the convention, except Rhode Island; and, when the body was organized for business, General Washington was elected by a unanimous vote to the president's chair. The convention was in session four months, and the diligence of the members is proved by the fact, that they sat from five to seven hours a day. The result was the Constitution of the United States, which was proposed to be sub-

stituted for the Articles of Confederation. On the 17th of September, 1787, the constitution was signed by all the members present, except three, and forwarded with a letter to Congress. By that assembly it was sent to the State legislatures, for the purpose of being submitted in each State to a convention of delegates chosen by the people, in conformity with a resolve of the general convention.

The constitution, as it came from the hands of its framers, was regarded by no one as theoretically perfect. To form a compact, which should unite thirteen independent republics into a consolidated government possessing a control over the whole, was not a work of easy attainment, even if there had been a uniformity in the previously established systems of the several States. The difficulty was increased by the wide differences in their situation, extent, habits, wealth, and particular interests. Rights and privileges were to be surrendered, not always in proportion to the advantages which seemed to be promised as an equivalent. In short, the constitution was an amicable compromise, the result of mutual deference and concession. Dr. Franklin said, in a short speech near the close of the convention; "I consent to this constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good." And Washington wrote not long afterwards; "There are some things in the new form, I will readily acknowledge, which never did, and I am persuaded never will, obtain my cordial approbation; but I did then conceive, and do now most firmly believe, that in the aggregate it is the best constitution, that can be obtained at this epoch, and that this, or a dissolution, awaits our choice, and is the only alternative." Again; "It appears to me little short

of a miracle, that the delegates from so many States, different from each other in their manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government, so little liable to well-founded objections. Nor am I yet such an enthusiastic, partial, or undiscriminating admirer of it, as not to perceive it is tinctured with some real though not radical defects." Similar sentiments were doubtless entertained by all the prominent friends to the constitution. Faulty as it was, they looked upon it as the best that could be made, in the existing state of things, and as such they wished it to be fairly tried. It was moreover remarkable, that what one called a defect, another thought its most valuable part, so that in detail it was almost wholly condemned and approved. This was a proof, that there was nothing in it essentially bad, and that it approached very nearly to a just medium. If we judge from the tenor of Washington's letters, after it was sent out to the world, he watched its fate with anxious solicitude, and was animated with joy at the favor it gradually gained with the public, and its ultimate triumph. It was universally agreed, that his name, affixed to the constitution, carried with it a most effective influence on the minds of the people.

The legislatures of all the States, which had been represented in the general convention, directed State conventions to be assembled, consisting of delegates chosen by the people for the express purpose of deciding on the adoption of the constitution. The ratification of nine States was necessary to give it validity and effect. The conventions in the several States met at different times, and it was nearly a year before the requisite number had passed a decision. In the mean time both the friends and opponents of the constitution

were extremely active. The weight of opinion, however, was found everywhere to preponderate on the side of the constitution. In some of the States it was adopted unanimously, and in nearly all of them the majority was much larger than its most zealous advocates had ventured to hope. Amendments were recommended in some instances, but in none was the ratification clogged by positive conditions of this sort. The same spirit of compromise and mutual concession seemed to prevail, that had been manifested in the general convention. In fine, though the opposition was strong, and upheld by a few of the ablest and best men in the country, yet the popular voice was so decidedly expressed on the other side, as to afford the most encouraging presages of the successful operation of the new form of government.

Each State convention transmitted to Congress a testimonial of its ratification, signed by all its members. When these testimonials had been received from the requisite number of States, an act was passed by Congress appointing a day for the people throughout the Union to choose electors of a President of the United States, according to the constitution, and another day for the electors to meet and vote for the person of their choice. The former election was to take place on the first Wednesday in February, 1789, and the latter on the first Wednesday in March following.

It was no sooner ascertained, that the constitution would probably be adopted, than the eyes of the nation were turned upon Washington, as the individual to be selected for that office, the highest, most honorable, and most responsible, that could be conferred by the suffrages of a free people. His reluctance to being farther engaged in public life was well known; but every one knew also, that he never refused to obey the call

of his country, or to make personal sacrifices for the public good. This was a ground of hope and of confidence. In him the whole people would be united. As to other candidates, there would be differences of opinion, rivalships, and, it was feared, unhappy divisions, that might mar the work so successfully begun, and perhaps end in its overthrow and ruin. The interest felt in the subject, therefore, was intense; and at no period, even during the struggle of the revolution, was the strong support of Washington more necessary, than at this crisis.

The public sentiment was too openly and loudly proclaimed to be concealed from him. Indeed those of his compatriots and associates, whose intimacy entitled them to use such a freedom, began early to prepare him for the result, by such arguments and advice, as they knew would be candidly considered, and be the best suited to act upon his mind. Some time before the election, in reply to a letter in which the subject had been brought pointedly before him by a gentleman, then a member of Congress, he wrote as follows.

"Should the contingency you suggest take place, and should my unfeigned reluctance to accept the office be overcome by a deference to the reasons and opinions of my friends, might I not, after the declarations I have made (and Heaven knows they were made in the sincerity of my heart), in the judgment of the impartial world and of posterity, be chargeable with levity and inconsistency, if not with rashness and ambition? Nay, farther, would there not be some apparent foundation for the two former charges? Now justice to myself and tranquillity of conscience require, that I should act a part, if not above imputation, at least capable of vindication. Nor will you conceive me

to be too solicitous for reputation. Though I prize as I ought the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, yet, if I know myself, I would not seek or retain popularity at the expense of one social duty or moral virtue.

"While doing what my conscience informed me was right, as it respected my God, my country, and myself, I could despise all the party clamor and unjust censure, which might be expected from some, whose personal enmity might be occasioned by their hostility to the government. I am conscious, that I fear alone to give any real occasion for obloquy, and that I do not dread to meet with unmerited reproach. And certain I am, whensoever I shall be convinced the good of my country requires my reputation to be put in risk, regard for my own fame will not come in competition with an object of so much magnitude. If I declined the task, it would lie upon quite another principle. Notwithstanding my advanced season of life, my increasing fondness for agricultural amusements, and my growing love of retirement, augment and confirm my decided predilection for the character of a private citizen, yet it would be no one of these motives, nor the hazard to which my former reputation might be exposed, nor the terror of encountering new fatigues and troubles, that would deter me from an acceptance; but a belief, that some other person, who had less pretence and less inclination to be excused, could execute all the duties full as satisfactorily as myself."

Suffice it to say, that his scruples yielded to the earnest solicitations of his friends, to mature reflection, and to the counsels of his unerring judgment. The day of election came, and GEORGE WASHINGTON was chosen, by the unanimous vote of the electors, and probably without a dissenting voice in the whole nation, the first President of the United States.

CHAPTER XVI.

He receives official Notice of being chosen President. — His Journey to the Seat of Government at New York. — His Oath of Office and Inaugural Speech. — Acquaints himself with the State of public Affairs. — His Attention to his private Pursuits. — His Manner of receiving Visits and entertaining Company. — Afflicted with a severe Illness. — Death of his Mother. — Executive Departments formed, and the Officers appointed. — Judiciary System organized. — Washington's Opinion of the Supreme Court. — His Rule in Appointments to Office.

IT being known that the choice of the people had fallen on General Washington for President, he made preparations to begin the duties of the office as soon as his election should be notified to him by the proper authority. The 4th of March was assigned as the day for the meeting of Congress, but a quorum did not come together till a month later. The votes of the electors were then opened and counted; and a special messenger was despatched to Mount Vernon with a letter from the President of the Senate to General Washington, conveying official intelligence of his election. John Adams was at the same time declared to be chosen Vice-President of the United States. Two days after receiving the notification, Washington left home for New York, which was then the seat of Congress.

His feelings on this occasion are indicated in the following extract from his Diary, written on the day of his departure. "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York in company with Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys, with the best disposition to render ser-

vice to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." The whole journey was a kind of triumphal procession. He had hardly left his own house, when he was met by a company of gentlemen from Alexandria, who proceeded with him to that town, where an entertainment was provided for him, and where he received and answered a public address. The people gathered to see him as he passed along the road. When he approached the several towns, the most respectable citizens came out to meet and welcome him; he was escorted from place to place by companies of militia; and in the principal cities his presence was announced by the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, and military display.

A committee of Congress, consisting of three members of the Senate and five of the House of Representatives, was appointed to meet him in New Jersey and attend him to the city of New York. To Elizabethtown Point came many other persons of distinction, and the heads of the several departments of government. He was there received in a barge, splendidly fitted up for the occasion, and rowed by thirteen pilots in white uniforms. This was followed by vessels and boats, fancifully decorated, and crowded with spectators. When the President's barge came near to the city, a salute of thirteen guns was fired from the vessels in the harbour, and from the Battery. At the landing he was again saluted by a discharge of artillery, and was joined by the governor and other officers of the State, and the corporation of the city. A procession was then formed, headed by a long military train, which was followed by the principal officers of the State and city, the clergy, foreign ministers, and a great concourse of citizens. The procession

advanced to the house prepared for the reception of the President. The day was passed in festivity and joy, and in the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated.

The first public act of the President was that of taking the oath of office. It was decided by Congress, that this should be done with some ceremony. In the morning of the day appointed, April 30th, at nine o'clock, religious services suited to the occasion were performed in all the churches of the city. At twelve the troops paraded before the President's door, and soon afterwards came the committees of Congress and the heads of departments in carriages, to attend him to the Federal Hall, where the two houses of Congress were assembled. The procession moved forward with the troops in front, next the committees and heads of departments, then the President in a coach alone, followed by the foreign ministers, civil officers of the State, and citizens. Arrived at the Hall, he ascended to the senate-chamber, and passed thence to a balcony in front of the house, where the oath was administered to him in presence of the people by Chancellor Livingston. The President returned to the senate-chamber, in the midst of loud acclamations from the surrounding throng of spectators, and delivered to the two branches of Congress his Inaugural Speech. He then went on foot to St. Paul's Church, where prayers were read by the bishop, and the ceremonies were closed. Tokens of joy were everywhere exhibited, as on the day of his arrival, and at night there was a display of illuminations and fireworks.

Under auspices thus favorable, Washington entered again upon the career of public life, surrounded and sustained by the eminent leaders, who had acted with him in establishing the liberties of his country, and cheered with the conviction of having received the

voluntary suffrage and possessing the good wishes of every American citizen. Yet he was aware, that the task he had undertaken was one of no common responsibility or easy execution. The hopes and expectations of his countrymen, he knew, were in proportion to the unanimity with which they had crowned him with honors, and laid the burden of their public cares on his shoulders. A new system of government was to be put in action, upon which depended the destiny of his country, and with the good or ill success of which his future reputation would be identified.

In his inaugural speech, after expressing his deep sense of the magnitude of the trust confided to him, the struggles his mind had undergone in deciding to accept it, and a consciousness of his deficiencies, he added ; "In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that, if in accepting this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity, as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated." With these sentiments, and with fervent supplications to the Almighty Being, whose guidance and overruling Providence he acknowledged in all the events of his life, he commenced the arduous duties of chief magistrate of the nation. In conformity with the rule to which he had hitherto adhered, he gave notice to Congress, that he should accept no other compensation for his

services, than such as would be necessary to defray the expenses of his household and other charges incident to his public station.

As the various departments of government under the new system could not be instituted, till Congress had passed laws for their organization and support, the business belonging to these departments continued to be transacted by the officers, who had previously been charged with it. Mr. Jay acted as secretary of foreign affairs, and General Knox as secretary of war. The treasury was under the control of a board of commissioners. The President requested from each of them an elaborate report, that he might become acquainted with the actual state of the government in all its foreign and domestic relations. These reports he read and condensed with his own hand, particularly that from the treasury board, till he made himself master of their contents. In regard to foreign affairs, he pursued a still more laborious process. With pen in hand he perused from beginning to end the official correspondence, deposited in the public archives, from the date of the treaty of peace at the termination of the war till the time he entered upon the Presidency. These voluminous papers he abridged and studied, according to his usual practice, with the view of fixing in his mind every important point that had been discussed, as well as the history of what had been done.

Among the private reasons, which had disinclined him to leave his retirement at Mount Vernon, were his growing attachment to agriculture, and his desire to pursue the system adopted for the cultivation of his farms. Since the war he had devoted himself with equal delight and constancy to this pursuit, and brought his plans into a train, which promised the most satisfactory results. He had procured from Europe the

works of the best writers on the subject, which he read with diligence and reflection, drawing from them such scientific principles and practical hints, as he could advantageously use in improving his modes of agriculture. He was resolved to mature his designs, and in the intervals of public duties to bestow a part of his leisure upon that object. With his chief manager at Mount Vernon he left full and minute directions in writing, and exacted from him a weekly report, in which were registered the transactions of each day on all the farms, such as the number of laborers employed, their health or sickness, the kind and quantity of work executed, the progress in planting, sowing, or harvesting the fields, the appearance of the crops at various stages of their growth, the effects of the weather on them, and the condition of the horses, cattle, and other live stock. By these details he was made perfectly acquainted with all that was done, and could give his orders with almost as much precision as if he had been on the spot.

Once a week regularly, and sometimes twice, he wrote to the manager, remarking on his report of the preceding week, and adding new directions. These letters frequently extended to two or three sheets, and were always written with his own hand. Such was his laborious exactness, that the letter he sent away was usually transcribed from a rough draft. A press copy was taken of the transcript, which was carefully filed with the manager's report for his future inspection. In this habit he persevered with unabated diligence through the whole eight years of his Presidency, except during the short visits he occasionally made to Mount Vernon, at the close of the sessions of Congress, when his presence could be dispensed with at the seat of government. He moreover maintained a

large correspondence on agriculture with gentlemen in Europe and America. His letters to Sir John Sinclair, Arthur Young, and Dr. Anderson, have been published and are well known. Indeed his thoughts never seemed to flow more freely, nor his pen to move more easily, than when he was writing on agriculture, extolling it as a most attractive pursuit, and describing the pleasure he derived from it, and its superior claims not only on the practical economist, but on the statesman and philanthropist.

The President had not been long in New York before he found it necessary to establish rules for receiving visiters and entertaining company. There being no precedent to serve as a guide, this was an affair of considerable delicacy and difficulty. In the first place, it was essential to maintain the dignity of the office by such forms as would inspire deference and respect; and, at the same time, the nature of republican institutions and the habits of the people required the chief magistrate to be accessible to every citizen on proper occasions and for reasonable purposes. A just line was therefore to be drawn between too much pomp and ceremony on the one hand, and an extreme of familiarity on the other. Regard was also to be had to the President's time and convenience. After a short experiment of leaving the matter to the discretion of the public, it was proved, that without some fixed rule he would never have an hour at his disposal. From breakfast till dinner his door was besieged with persons calling to pay their respects, or to consult him on affairs of little moment. His sense of duty to the claims of his office, and to himself, convinced him that this practice could not be endured. The Vice-President, Mr. Jay, Mr. Madison, Mr. Hamilton, and other gentlemen, concurred in this opinion, and by their advice a different mode was adopted.

Every Tuesday, between the hours of three and four, he was prepared to receive such persons as chose to call. Foreign ministers, strangers of distinction, and citizens, came and went without ceremony. The hour was passed in free conversation on promiscuous topics, in which the President joined. Every Friday afternoon the rooms were open in like manner for visits to Mrs. Washington, which were on a still more sociable footing, and at which General Washington was always present. These assemblages were in the nature of public levees, and they did not preclude such visits of civility and friendship, between the President's family and others, as is customary in society. On affairs of business by appointment, whether with public officers or private citizens, the President was always ready to bestow his time and attention. He accepted no invitations to dinner, but invited to his own table foreign ministers, officers of the government, and strangers, in such numbers at once as his domestic establishment would accommodate. On these occasions there was neither ostentation nor restraint, but the same simplicity and ease with which his guests had been entertained at Mount Vernon.

No visits were received on Sundays. In the morning he uniformly attended church, and in the afternoon he retired to his private apartment. The evening was spent with his family, and then an intimate friend would sometimes call, but promiscuous company was not admitted.*

Having laid down these general rules, which soon became known to the public, he found relief from a heavy tax upon his time, and more leisure for a faithful discharge of his duties. In the course of the summer,

* For an account of his religious opinions and habits, see Vol. XII. p. 399.

however, he was seized with a violent malady, which reduced him very low, and which for a few days was thought to endanger his life. He was confined six weeks to his bed, and it was more than twelve before his strength was restored. A constitution naturally strong, and the attendance of Dr. Bard, a physician equally eminent for the excellence of his character and skill in his profession, enabled him to rise from an illness the most painful and trying that he had ever endured. From the effects of it he never entirely recovered.

He had hardly gained strength to go abroad, when he heard of the death of his mother, who died in August, at the age of eighty-two. Writing to his sister on this occasion he said; "Awful and affecting as the death of a parent is, there is consolation in knowing, that Heaven has spared ours to an age beyond which few attain, and favored her with the full enjoyment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily strength as usually falls to the lot of fourscore. Under these considerations, and a hope that she is translated to a happier place, it is the duty of her relatives to yield due submission to the decrees of the Creator." A short time before he left Mount Vernon for New York, he made a visit to his mother at Fredericksburg, the place of her residence. She was then sinking under a disease, which he foresaw would prove fatal; and he took an affecting and final leave of her, convinced he should never see her again. She had been a widow forty-six years. Through life she was remarkable for vigor of mind and body, simplicity of manners, and uprightness of character. She must have felt a mother's joy at the success and renown of her son, but they caused no change in her deportment or style of living. Whenever he visited her at her dwelling, even in the height of his greatness, he literally

returned to the scenes and domestic habits of his boyhood. Neither pride nor vanity mingled with the feelings excited by the attentions she received as the mother of Washington. She listened to his praises and was silent, or added only that he had been a good son, and she believed he had done his duty as a man.

As soon as he was established in his office, Washington introduced strict habits of economy into his household, which were preserved without essential change to the end of his public life. The whole was under the care of a steward, to whom he gave general directions. All other persons connected with the establishment were accountable to the steward, but each of them was required to keep an exact record of the purchases and expenditures made by him, specifying every particular. These accounts, with tradesmen's bills and other vouchers, were presented once a week to Washington, who inspected them minutely, and certified with his own signature that they were approved. By this method he was enabled to ascertain at any moment the precise state of his pecuniary affairs, and to guard against extravagance and waste. He might say with Seneca; "I keep an account of my expenses; I cannot affirm that I lose nothing, but I can tell you what I lose, and why, and in what manner." The salary of the President, as fixed by law, was twenty-five thousand dollars a year. But with the most rigid economy his expenses were seldom within this limit, and he was of course obliged to draw on his private fortune to make up the deficiency.

Congress continued in session till near the end of September, when they adjourned for three months. They had been mostly occupied in passing laws for the organization of government, the administration of justice, and the raising of a revenue. Mercantile reg-

ulations were established, imposing duties on tonnage and imported goods. Amendments to the constitution were framed, and recommended to the States for adoption. Three executive departments were formed, at the head of each of which was to be a secretary, namely, the departments of foreign affairs, of the treasury, and of war. The first was afterwards called the department of state, and included both foreign and domestic affairs. So large a portion of the administration of government is effected by the executives of the several States, that a separate department for internal affairs was not thought necessary. The navy too was at this time so small, as not to require a distinct department. It was mainly in the charge of the secretary of war.

The requisite laws being passed, it next devolved on the President to select proper persons to fill the several offices. In regard to the executive departments, this was of very great importance, inasmuch as the secretaries were not only to discharge the duties assigned to them by the constitution and laws, but were to be his cabinet, or council of state. On the wisdom of his choice, therefore, would in a great degree depend the character and success of his administration. So much time had elapsed in the session of Congress, that he had been able to take a full survey of the subject, and to decide with deliberation. Long experience in public affairs, a high political standing, and acknowledged talents, pointed out Thomas Jefferson as eminently qualified for the state department. He was about to return from France, where he had filled the office of minister plenipotentiary, as successor to Dr. Franklin, with much credit to himself and his country. Alexander Hamilton was appointed to the head of the treasury. His transcendent abilities,

integrity, firmness, and patriotism were well known to Washington, after a thorough trial and familiar acquaintance in the revolution; and they were scarcely less known or less appreciated by his countrymen at large. In the convention, Hamilton disapproved and opposed some of the principal articles of the constitution; and the more praise is due to him, that, after it was carried by a majority, and was proved to be the best that could be hoped for in the circumstances of the times, he gave up his predilections, joined heartily with its friends, and put into their scale the whole weight of his great powers of eloquence and argument, both in debate and by the use of his pen. Henry Knox was continued secretary of war, which station he had held under the confederation. As an officer, a man, and a friend, he was esteemed by Washington; and his steady principles and public services had gained for him a general confidence. The post of attorney-general was conferred on Edmund Randolph, a gentleman distinguished by success in his profession at the bar, and by having been governor of Virginia, and a conspicuous member of the convention that framed the constitution. Such were the heads of the executive departments, and such the composition of the council, on which the President was mainly to rely for advice and support.

For administering justice, in the execution of the laws for national purposes, the constitution had provided, that there should be a supreme court, and such inferior courts as congress should establish. In organizing the judiciary system, it was decided that the supreme court should consist of a chief justice and five associate justices, and that there should be district courts, with one judge in each State. An associate justice and a district judge constituted a circuit court. Washington's opinion of the importance of the

supreme court is forcibly described in his own language. "Impressed with a conviction," said he, "that the due administration of justice is the firmest pillar of good government, I have considered the first arrangement of the judicial department as essential to the happiness of the country, and to the stability of its political system. Hence the selection of the fittest characters to expound the laws, and dispense justice, has been an invariable object of my anxious concern." And again, in giving notice to Mr. Jay of his appointment as chief justice; "I have a full confidence, that the love which you bear to our country, and a desire to promote the general happiness, will not suffer you to hesitate a moment to bring into action the talents, knowledge, and integrity, which are so necessary to be exercised at the head of that department, which must be considered the key-stone of our political fabric." These views of the judiciary department, as forming a most essential branch of the government, and as claiming the highest consideration, he always entertained; and in the appointment of justices, and judges of the district courts, he was extremely solicitous to secure the services of those, who were eminent for judicial knowledge, talents, personal worth, and experience. In placing John Jay at the head of the supreme court, he consulted alike the public good, the dignity of the court, and his own feelings. No man in the nation possessed a larger share of confidence, whether in regard to his ability or his legal attainments; none was more valued for the services he had rendered to his country, none more esteemed for his private virtues. The choice of his associates was also fortunate, and the court assumed a respectability and weight suited to the rank conferred upon it by the constitution.

No part of the President's duties gave him more anxiety, than that of distributing the offices in his gift. Applications innumerable flowed in upon him even before he left Mount Vernon, many of them from his personal friends, and others supported by the recommendations of his friends; nor did they cease as long as any vacancies remained. He early prescribed to himself a rule, however, from which he never swerved, which was to give no pledges or encouragement to any applicant. He answered them all civilly, but avowed his determination to suspend a decision till the time of making the appointments should arrive, and then, without favor or bias, to select such individuals as in his judgment were best qualified to execute with faithfulness and ability the trust reposed in them. His sentiments and motives are well explained in a letter written to a gentleman, who had solicited an office for another person.

"From the moment when the necessity had become more apparent," said he, "and as it were inevitable, I anticipated, with a heart filled with distress, the ten thousand embarrassments, perplexities, and troubles, to which I must again be exposed in the evening of a life already nearly consumed in public cares. Among all these anxieties, I will not conceal from you, I anticipated none greater, than those that were likely to be produced by applications for appointments to the different offices, which would be created under the new government. Nor will I conceal, that my apprehensions have already been but too well justified. Scarcely a day passes, in which applications of one kind or another do not arrive; insomuch that, had I not early adopted some general principles, I should before this time have been wholly occupied in this business. As it is, I have found the number of answers,

which I have been necessitated to give in my own hand, an almost insupportable burden to me.

"The points in which all these answers have agreed in substance are, that, should it be my lot to go again into public office, I would go without being under any possible engagements of any nature whatsoever; that, so far as I knew my own heart, I would not be in the remotest degree influenced, in making nominations, by motives arising from the ties of family or blood; and that, on the other hand, three things, in my opinion, ought principally to be regarded, namely, the fitness of characters to fill offices, the comparative claims from the former merits and sufferings in service of the different candidates, and the distribution of appointments in as equal a proportion as might be to persons belonging to the different States in the Union. Without precautions of this kind, I clearly foresaw the endless jealousies, and possibly the fatal consequences, to which a government, depending altogether on the good-will of the people for its establishment, would certainly be exposed in its early stages. Besides, I thought, whatever the effect might be in pleasing or displeasing any individuals at the present moment, a due concern for my own reputation, not less decisively than a sacred regard to the interests of the community, required, that I should hold myself absolutely at liberty to act, while in office, with a sole reference to justice and the public good."

In practice he verified these declarations, acting in every case with perfect independence, looking first to the national interests and next to the best means of promoting them, and admitting no other ground of preference between candidates, whose pretensions were in other respects equal, than that of former efforts or sacrifices in serving their country.

CHAPTER XVII.

His Journey through the Eastern States. — Letter from Mrs. Washington. — System of Funding the public Debts. — Place for the permanent Seat of Government agreed upon. — The President visits Rhode Island and Mount Vernon. — Foreign Relations of the United States. — France, England, Spain. — Indian War. — Washington's Policy respecting the Indians. — Congress meets at Philadelphia. — A National Bank established. — Tax on distilled Spirits. — The President's Tour through the Southern States. — Apportionment Bill. — Parties and their Causes. — Dissensions between the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury. — Washington's Attempts to reconcile them.

For some time it had been the President's intention in the recess of Congress to make a tour through the eastern States, as well for the reëstablishment of his health, as for observing the condition of the people, and the general disposition in regard to the new form of government. He anticipated pleasure also in reviewing the scenes of his first military campaign as Commander-in-chief, and in meeting the associates, who had contributed to lessen his toils and invigorate his spirit in times of peril and despondency. About the middle of October he left New York, accompanied by his two secretaries, Mr. Lear and Mr. Jackson, and he was absent a month. He travelled in his own carriage, and proceeded by way of New Haven, Hartford, Worcester, Boston, Salem, and Newburyport, as far as Portsmouth in New Hampshire. He returned by a different route through the interior of the country to Hartford, and thence to New York.

Such was the enthusiasm, which was now felt by all classes of the community in regard to Washington, an enthusiasm inspired by his virtues and his fame, that it was impossible for him to move in any direction without drawing around him thousands of spectators, eager

to gratify their eyes with a sight of his person, to greet him with acclamations of joy, and to exhibit testimonies of their respect and veneration. Men, women, and children, people of all ranks, ages, and occupations, assembled from far and near at the crossings of the roads and other public places, where it was known he would pass. Military escorts attended him on the way, and at the principal towns he was received and entertained by the civil authorities. Addresses were as usual presented to him by corporate bodies, religious societies, and literary institutions, to which he returned appropriate answers.

This journey was in all respects satisfactory to him, not more as furnishing proofs of the strong attachment of the people, than as convincing him of the growing prosperity of the country, and of the favor which the constitution and the administration of government were gaining in the public mind. He was happy to see, that the effects of the war had almost disappeared, that agriculture was pursued with activity, that the harvests were abundant, manufactures increasing, the towns flourishing, and commerce becoming daily more extended and profitable. The condition of society, the progress of improvements, the success of industrious enterprise, all gave tokens of order, peace, and contentment, and a most cheering promise for the future.*

* The reader cannot fail to be interested in this place with an extract from a letter written by Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Warren soon after the President's return from his tour. So little remains, which is known to have come from the pen of this lady, that it would be an act of injustice to her memory to withhold a specimen so creditable to her understanding, her heart, and her views of life, as the following, which is transcribed from the original.

"Your very friendly letter of last month has afforded much more satisfaction, than all the formal compliments and empty ceremonies of mere etiquette could possibly have done. I am not apt to forget the

The time for the adjournment of Congress having expired, the two houses reassembled in the first week of January. The President met them in the senate-chamber, and delivered his speech at the opening of the session. Such was the custom during Washington's administration; but it was afterwards changed, and the President communicated with Congress only by written messages. This was likewise Washington's practice, except at the beginning of a session, when he addressed the two houses in person. These addresses were called *speeches*, and other communications were designated as *messages*. At this time, after congratulating Congress on the prosperous condition of the country, and the favor with which their previous doings had been received, he recommended several subjects

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feelings, which have been inspired by my former society with good acquaintances, nor to be insensible to their expressions of gratitude to the President; for you know me well enough to do me the justice to believe, that I am fond only of what comes from the heart. Under a conviction, that the demonstrations of respect and affection to him originate in that source, I cannot deny, that I have taken some interest and pleasure in them. The difficulties, which presented themselves to view on his first entering upon the Presidency, seem thus to be in some measure surmounted. It is owing to the kindness of our numerous friends in all quarters, that my new and unwished-for situation is not indeed a burden to me. When I was much younger, I should probably have enjoyed the innocent gayeties of life as much as most persons of my age; but I had long since placed all the prospects of my future worldly happiness in the still enjoyments of the fireside at Mount Vernon.

"I little thought, when the war was finished, that any circumstances could possibly happen, which would call the General into public life again. I had anticipated, that from that moment we should be suffered to grow old together in solitude and tranquillity. That was the first and dearest wish of my heart. I will not, however, contemplate with too much regret disappointments, that were inevitable, though his feelings and my own were in perfect unison with respect to our predilection for private life. Yet I cannot blame him for having acted according to his ideas of duty in obeying the voice of his country. The consciousness of having attempted to do all the good in his power, and the pleasure of finding his fellow-citizens so well satisfied with the disinterestedness of his conduct, will doubtless be some compensation for the great sacrifices,

as claiming their attention, particularly a provision for the common defence, laws for naturalizing foreigners, a uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures, the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the promotion of science and literature, and an effective system for the support of public credit.

To the difficulties involved in this last subject may indeed be traced the primary causes of the constitution, and it had already attracted the notice of the national legislature. The former session had necessarily been consumed in framing laws for putting the new government in operation; but, a few days before its close, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives, in which it was declared that an adequate provision for the support of public credit was essential to the

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which I know he has made. Indeed, on his journey from Mount Vernon to this place, in his late tour through the Eastern States, by every public and every private information which has come to him, I am persuaded he has experienced nothing to make him repent his having acted from what he conceived to be a sense of indispensable duty. On the contrary, all his sensibility has been awakened in receiving such repeated and unequivocal proofs of sincere regard from his countrymen.

"With respect to myself, I sometimes think the arrangement is not quite as it ought to have been, that I, who had much rather be at home, should occupy a place, with which a great many younger and gayer women would be extremely pleased. As my grandchildren and domestic connexions make up a great portion of the felicity, which I looked for in this world, I shall hardly be able to find any substitute, that will indemnify me for the loss of a part of such endearing society. I do not say this because I feel dissatisfied with my present station, for everybody and every thing conspire to make me as contented as possible in it; yet I have learned too much of the vanity of human affairs to expect felicity from the scenes of public life. I am still determined to be cheerful and happy in whatever situation I may be; for I have also learned from experience, that the greater part of our happiness or misery depends on our dispositions, and not on our circumstances. We carry the seeds of the one or the other about with us in our minds wherever we go.

"I have two of my grandchildren with me, who enjoy advantages in point of education, and who, I trust, by the goodness of Providence, will be a great blessing to me. My other two grandchildren are with their mother in Virginia."—*New York, December 26th*, 1789.

national honor and prosperity, and the Secretary of the Treasury was directed to prepare a plan for the purpose, and report it to the house at the next session. The national debt had its origin chiefly in the Revolution. It was of two kinds, foreign and domestic. The foreign debt amounted to nearly twelve millions of dollars, and was due to France, the Hollanders, and a very small part to Spain. The domestic debt, due to individuals in the United States for loans to the government and supplies furnished to the army, was about forty-two millions. These debts had been contracted by Congress, and were acknowledged to be a national charge. There was another description of debts, amounting by estimate to about twenty-five millions of dollars, which rested on a different footing. The States individually had constructed works of defence within their respective limits, advanced pay and bounties to Continental troops and militia, and supplied provisions, clothing, and munitions of war. The secretary proposed, that all the domestic debts, including those of the particular States, should be funded, and that the nation should become responsible for their payment to the full amount.

The report was able, perspicuous, and comprehensive, embracing a complete view of the subject, and containing arguments of great cogency in support of the plan suggested. As to the foreign debt, there was no question in the mind of any one, that it ought to be discharged according to the strict letter of the contracts, but in regard to the domestic debts a difference of opinion prevailed. The secretary endeavoured to prove, that no distinction should be admitted, that the expenditures had all been made for national objects, and that in equity the public faith was solemnly pledged for their reimbursement. The obligation was increased

by their being "the price of liberty," without which the nation itself could never have attained an independent existence. He argued that the policy of the measure was not less obvious than its justice, that public credit was essential to the support of government under any form, and that this could be maintained only by good faith in all transactions, and by honorably fulfilling engagements. Who would confide in a government, that had refused to pay its debts, or respect a nation that had shown a disregard to the principles, which constitute the cement of every well-ordered community?

When the report was considered in Congress, it gave rise to warm and protracted debates. The opponents of the secretary's plan were not without plausible reasons. As to the debt contracted by Congress, it was said that the usual maxims could not properly be applied. The evidences of this debt consisted in a paper currency and certificates, which, as there was no gold or silver, the creditors were from the necessity of the case obliged to take. This paper had in most cases passed through many hands, and was immensely depreciated below its nominal value. The original creditors, therefore, and the subsequent holders, had lost in proportion to the scale of depreciation. Hence the proposal to assume the whole debt, as it stood on the face of the paper, and pay it to the present holders, was said to be inequitable, inasmuch as these had purchased it at the depreciated value, and had no claim to be remunerated for the losses of the previous holders.

Mr. Madison proposed a discrimination, by which the purchasers should be paid a certain portion, and the original holders the remainder. This was objected to as unjust and impracticable. By the form and tenor of the certificates, the debt was made payable to the

original creditor or bearer. On these terms they had been sold, and the sellers had relinquished all their claims to the purchasers for what was deemed an equivalent. When the transfers were made, it was understood by both parties to be on this principle, and the purchaser took the risk of eventual payment. It was clear, also, that it would be impossible to make the discrimination, except to a limited extent and in a partial manner, since the numerous transfers of the original creditors could not be ascertained and examined; and even at best no provision was offered for the losses of the intermediate holders by the gradual depreciation. After a long debate in the House of Representatives, this scheme was rejected.

Next came up the State debts; and the proposition to assume them created still greater divisions and heats in Congress, and much excitement abroad. It brought into action all the local prejudices and high-toned doctrines of State rights and State sovereignty, which had been so heavy a stumblingblock in the way of union and concord from the beginning of the Revolution. The debts of the respective States were very unequal in amount. This led to an investigation of the services rendered by each, and to invidious comparisons. The project was opposed as unconstitutional and unjust. Congress, it was said, had no power to take this burden upon the nation. Such an assumption of power was moreover an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the States, tending to diminish their importance, and lead to a consolidation destructive of the republican system. Each State was responsible for the debts it had contracted, and there was no reason for taxing those States, which owed little, to pay a portion of the large debt of others.

It was argued in reply, that, as the expenditures had

all been for the common cause of the nation, they came strictly within the legitimate control of Congress; and also, as the constitution had transferred to the national legislature the entire power of raising funds from duties on imports and the sales of public lands, the principal sources of revenue, it was just that the debts should be paid out of these funds. The States could pay them only by excise duties, or direct taxes, which would be odious to the people and difficult to collect. In any event there must be long delays, and much uncertainty as to the result. The creditors had a right to claim more prompt payment, and better security from the nation.

At last the secretary's plan for funding all the domestic debts was carried by a small majority in both houses of Congress. In regard to the State debts, however, the original proposition was modified. The specific sum of twenty-one millions and a half of dollars was assumed, and apportioned among the States in a proximate ratio to the amount of the debts of each. An act was passed by which the whole of the domestic debt became a loan to the nation. It was made redeemable at various times, and at various rates of interest.

One of the principal arguments for funding the debt, in addition to that of its equity, was the advantage that would be derived from it as an active capital for immediate use. Sustained by the credit of the nation, bearing interest and redeemable at certain times, the paper securities of the government would have a permanent value in the market, and thus be a spur to enterprise, and increase the prosperity of the country in its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. All that was anticipated from the funding system, in these respects, was realized. Politically considered, however, it had an unhappy influence. It widened the breach of parties, produced irritations, and excited animosities. Nor

was it to be expected that the adversaries of the plan, and these a large minority, would readily change their opinion after the strenuous opposition they had shown, or cease from their hostility. The President expressed no sentiments on the subject while it was under debate in Congress, but he approved the act for funding the public debt, and was undoubtedly, from conviction, a decided friend to the measure.

Another important point, upon which Congress under the old Confederation had been for a long time divided, was settled in the course of this session. Local interests, and other considerations, made it difficult to agree on the place for the permanent seat of government. It was at length determined, that it should be removed for ten years to Philadelphia, and then be established at some place on the Potomac River. Ultimately the position was selected, which has since been called the District of Columbia; and the territory was surveyed, the city planned, and the public buildings commenced, under the direction of Washington, this duty devolving on him as President. For three or four years it occupied a great deal of his attention; and, in compliance with the laws, he appointed commissioners for managing the business, with whom he carried on a voluminous correspondence, giving personal directions, and requiring exact accounts of all proceedings.

Rhode Island having adopted the constitution, and acceded to the Union, the President made a visit to that State immediately after the session of Congress. In his eastern tour he had avoided going to Rhode Island, because it had not then joined the Union under the new government.

Another severe disease, and constant application to business, had much impaired his health; and he determined to take advantage of the recess of Congress,

throw off for a brief space the burden of public cares, and seek repose and recreation in his own quiet home at Mount Vernon. He always returned to that spot with delight; and it was now doubly dear to him, as it promised rest from labor, refreshment to his weary spirit and debilitated body, and a few days of leisure to ride over his farms, view his gardens, orchards, and fields, and observe the progress of his agricultural operations.

The foreign relations of the United States, at the beginning of the new government, though not complicated, were nevertheless in an unsettled condition. With France there was a good understanding, the treaties of alliance and commerce having been scrupulously fulfilled on both sides. The revolutionary disorders, however, soon broke out, and produced disagreements, alienation, and trouble.

With Morocco a sort of informal treaty existed, and Washington wrote two letters to the Emperor, who had received American vessels into his ports, and promised his aid to conciliate the Barbary powers. This promise was unavailing. The Algerines had seized vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, and held the officers and sailors in bondage for several years.

The government stood in a more delicate relation to England, than to any other power. The old feuds and bitter feelings of the war subsided slowly. All attempts to bring about a treaty of commerce between the two countries had failed. The British cabinet, probably distrusting the stability of the Union under the old Confederation, had shown no disposition to enter into a treaty of this sort, and had never sent a minister to the United States. The military posts on the frontiers had not been given up, as was stipulated in the treaty of peace. The reason assigned, that some

of the States had refused to pay the debts due to British subjects, which they were likewise bound to do by the treaty, was plausible, and perhaps well founded. Congress had but a limited power to enforce a compliance with treaties; and it was natural in such a case, that other nations should be tardy in making them. This state of things being altered by the constitution, President Washington thought it desirable to ascertain the views and intentions of the British government, in regard to complying with the treaty of peace, and to future intercourse. To attain this end he commissioned Gouverneur Morris as a private agent to hold conversations with the British ministers, deeming it of great importance, as he said, that errors should be avoided in the system of policy respecting Great Britain.

Affairs with Spain were yet more unpromising. At the outset of the Revolution, his Catholic Majesty, yielding to the solicitations of France, seemed to abet the American cause; but he soon changed his mind, refused to join with France in acknowledging the independence of the United States, even when he declared war against England, and gave his sanction to the treaty of peace with no good will. He feared the effect, and not without reason, which the example of the northern republicans might have upon his colonies in South America. A negotiation had been going on, tedious as it was unprofitable, down to the time of Washington's election to the Presidency, but no apparent progress had been made. The Floridas and Louisiana belonged to Spain. The navigation of the Mississippi was the great point of controversy. This was essential to the settlers in the West, and was becoming every day more and more so on account of the rapid increase of the population. Spain persisted in withholding all rights and privileges in that navigation from citizens of the

United States. There were various grounds of policy for this refusal, but probably the most operative was a secret hope, that the western inhabitants, weary of these obstacles to their commerce, and dissatisfied with the national government for not removing them, might sooner or later dissever themselves from the Union, and form a separate republic, which would easily fall under the control of Spain.

Other circumstances, growing out of the relations with England and Spain, were extremely injurious to the interests of the country. During the war, the Indians on the borders of the United States had almost everywhere been allied with the enemy. When peace came, it found them in the attitude of hostility, their savage spirit roused, and their vindictive tempers eager for slaughter and revenge; and the United States were left to appease and conciliate them as they could. In any case this would have been an arduous task, but the difficulty was soon perceived to be increased by a foreign influence, keeping alive their enmity, and stimulating them to acts of outrage. British agents and traders on the northern frontier furnished the Indians with arms, ammunition, and clothing. In Florida the Spaniards tampered with the Creeks and other Southern Indians, and kept them at variance with their white neighbours. These acts were not acknowledged, possibly not authorized, by the English and Spanish governments, but they were certainly not restrained, and they were repeated long after full representations had been made.

The effect was a protracted and expensive war. Washington's policy in regard to the Indians was always pacific and humane. He considered them as children, who should be treated with tenderness and forbearance. He aimed to conciliate them by good

usage, to obtain their lands by fair purchase and punctual payments, to make treaties with them on terms of equity and reciprocal advantage, and strictly to redeem every pledge. In these respects he looked upon the Indian tribes as holding the same rank and the same rights as civilized nations. But their faithlessness, ravages, and murders were not to be tolerated, from whatever causes they arose. After failing in every attempt at a pacification, he was convinced that war was the only alternative. It continued four or five years, with many vicissitudes of misfortune and disaster, the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair, unsuccessful campaigns, and much waste of blood and treasure, till General Wayne put an end to it, first by a battle, and then by a treaty of peace. This war lasted through a large part of Washington's administration. It was a source of regret and pain to him, on account both of its cause, the necessity of subduing by force the turbulence of an ignorant and deluded race of men, and of the heavy charge it imposed on the nation for maintaining an army.

Congress commenced their third session at Philadelphia, and the President returned from Mount Vernon to that city, where he afterwards resided till the term of his office expired. The debates of this session were scarcely less vehement, or less deeply tinged with party antipathies, than those of the preceding. Two important measures were brought forward, discussed, and adopted; a national bank, and a tax on ardent spirits distilled in the United States.

The Secretary of the Treasury had previously recommended a national bank, as of great utility in administering the finances of the country, and facilitating the operations for the support of public credit. He now called the attention of Congress to the subject by

a special report, in which his views were explained with the same perspicuity and vigor of argument, which marked every thing that came from his pen. The project met with a strong opposition. It was attacked chiefly on the ground of its being unconstitutional. Much was said of the express, incidental, and implied powers conferred on Congress by the constitution; and it was averred, that none of these, nor all of them together, authorized the incorporating of a bank. Its policy was questioned, and the utility of banking systems denied. To this it was answered, that such incidental powers must necessarily belong to every form of government, as will enable it to carry into effect the positive and vested powers, and to employ all the usual means for that purpose; and that a construction of the constitution according to this fundamental principle fairly included the means afforded by a bank, to which almost all commercial nations had resorted, and the advantages of which had been proved by long experience. The arguments were somewhat metaphysical and attenuated on both sides; and indeed the attempt to define what is intended or implied by a written instrument, on points about which it says nothing, must naturally lead to abstractions little suited to enlighten or convince. No other rule of interpretation would seem to be applicable in practice, than that a proposed measure shall contribute to the public good, and not contravene any express power. The contest ended in the establishment of a bank, with a capital of ten millions of dollars, of which eight millions were to be held by individuals, and the residue by the government.

On this subject the cabinet was divided, Jefferson and Randolph being opposed to the bank as unconstitutional, and Hamilton and Knox of a contrary opinion. The President requested from each a statement of

his reasons in writing, and he is understood to have reflected deeply, and deliberated even with more than his usual caution, before he affixed his signature to the act.

The object of the tax on distilled spirits was to provide a fund for paying the interest on a portion of the domestic debt. The duties on imports were said to be strained as far as they would bear, without injury to commerce, and perhaps to the revenue by holding out a temptation to smuggling; and, as a new tax must be laid somewhere, the Secretary of the Treasury thought it could fall on no commodity less objectionable than ardent spirits distilled in the country. The tax was opposed as impolitic and unequal in its application. It was branded as an odious excise, hostile to liberty, the collecting of which would inflame the people, and lead to evasions and perhaps to resistance. It was unequal, because distilling was practised mostly in the West, and a few limited districts in other parts. This argument was more specious than sound, since the consumers would actually pay the tax; but it was vehemently urged by some of the representatives. The bill was carried, and was more remarkable for its consequences, than for its characteristics as a legislative act, in whatever light it may be viewed.

The President had fixed on the next recess of Congress for a tour through the southern States. He set off about the middle of March, and was gone three months, performing in that time a journey of eighteen hundred and eighty-seven miles with the same horses. His route was through Richmond, Wilmington, and Charleston, as far as Savannah; whence he returned by way of Augusta, Columbia, and the interior of North Carolina and Virginia. Before leaving home, he had ascertained with great accuracy the distances between

one place and another, settled the precise day upon which he should arrive at each, and the length of time he should stop. Not a single accident occurred; and with such exactness and method had his calculations been made, that his original plan was executed in every particular, except that he stayed one day more in one place than he intended, and one day less in another. He everywhere received the same proofs of respect and attachment, which had been manifested in his travels through the middle and eastern States.

The principal laws passed at the next session were those for apportioning the representatives, establishing a uniform militia system, and increasing the army. The constitution had prescribed, that the representatives in the national legislature should be apportioned among the several States according to the respective numbers of their population, but that the whole number of representatives should not exceed one for every thirty thousand. When the new apportionment bill was proposed, it was found that no ratio could be chosen, which would not leave large fractions to some of the States. For instance, if thirty thousand were taken as the ratio, there would be an unrepresented surplus of fifteen or twenty thousand, more or less, in some of the States. To remedy this imperfection, a bill was introduced and passed, which fixed the ratio at thirty thousand. The total population was divided by this ratio, which gave one hundred and twenty as the whole number of representatives. But this included the sum of all the fractions; and, after apportioning to each State one representative for every thirty thousand, the residuary members, to make the whole number of one hundred and twenty, were distributed among the States in which the fractions were the largest. The President decided, that this bill did not conform to the constitution, it

being obvious that the ratio was meant to apply to the States individually, and not to the aggregate amount of population in them all. He therefore returned the bill to Congress, with his reasons for not affixing his signature. A new bill was then framed and approved, fixing the ratio at thirty-three thousand, and throwing out the fractions.

The subject derived an importance from the spirit of party, and local jealousies, which entered into the discussion. Many of the members were strenuous for as large a representation as possible, by which the rights of the States would be better preserved, and a check afforded to the undue increase of executive power. The bill for the increase of the army was opposed on the same grounds. It would enlarge the executive patronage, which might ultimately be adverse to liberty, and a greater evil than the Indian war, for the prosecution of which the army was wanted.

It became evident, indeed, from many indications, both in Congress and abroad, that the advocates for different measures were fast arranging themselves into two distinct parties, the administration and its friends on one side, and its opponents on the other. In the first place, they who had opposed the constitution would naturally have their prejudices arrayed against it when put in practice, and be ready to find fault with any system by which this was effected. Again, all those who had watched with solicitude over the rights of the States, and believed these in danger, would be prepared to see the fulfilment of their predictions in the acts of the general government, however administered. If to these we add the bias of personal feelings, the influence of the passions, an unlimited freedom of speech, and the tendency of opposition to beget opposition, we shall have abundant materials for creating parties and aliment

for their support. And, as parties gain strength by union, it was easy for these elements, at first discordant, gradually to assimilate. Nor need we question the motives of any individual or class of men. It is fair to presume, that, at this stage of our political progress, there was as much patriotism and sincerity on both sides as at any other period. It is true, that, when a man gives himself up to a party, he is apt to forget his country; yet in all free communities there must be parties, and every man must belong to one or another, so that his motives should be judged by his conduct and character, rather than by the side he takes. The necessity of parties is not identical with their abuse. The former is the safeguard of liberty, the latter its bane. If the people would enjoy the one, they must be enlightened enough to perceive and virtuous enough to correct the other.

But this is not the place to examine into the origin or principles of the two great parties, which at that time began to divide the country, and which have continued ever since, with such modifications as have sprung from events and circumstances. It needs only to be said, that they were viewed with deep regret by Washington, and with a painful apprehension of their effects. Conscious of acting with the single aim of administering the government for the best interests and happiness of the people, he was mortified to find his endeavours thwarted at every step by party discords and personal enmities among those, who controlled public opinion by their standing and talents, and on whose aid he relied. It was not in Congress alone, that these jarrings occurred. They crept into the cabinet, disturbing its harmony, and dividing its counsels.

He had for some time been aware of a radical difference of opinion between the Secretary of State and the

Secretary of the Treasury, on some of the most important measures of the administration. The causes were deeply seated. Hamilton regarded the Constitution as affording inadequate powers to the general government, and believed its weakness to be its greatest defect. Hence he thought its success could be hoped for only by construing and administering it in such a manner, as would add the greatest degree of strength to the executive. Jefferson's sentiments and fears ran in an opposite direction. To him it appeared, that there was too much power in the head, that the exercise of the executive authority ought to be restrained, and that the rights of States and the liberty of the people were in jeopardy. The funding system, the assumption of the State debts, the bank, and the tax on domestic spirits, were all at variance with his principles.

These measures originated with Hamilton, and constituted the prominent features of the administration. The ability with which they had been planned, and their success, contributed to elevate their author in the public estimation, which, to say the least, could not be supposed to gratify the feelings of his colleague, especially as he looked upon the measures themselves to be wrong and fraught with mischief; nor could it be expected, that the two secretaries would harmonize in devising the means of carrying them into execution. It should be stated, nevertheless, that Jefferson discharged the duties of his office to the entire satisfaction of the President. Though differing in opinion from the majority of the cabinet, he did not allow his private views to influence his conduct as a member of that council, or as holding a responsible station in the government. Nothing more, perhaps, could reasonably be required of him, under the circumstances in which he was placed; yet, as it regarded the success of the

administration, a reluctant performance of duty was far from being the same thing as the cordial and vigorous support of a willing mind. In all respects, therefore, these disagreements were unpropitious, embarrassing to the President, and injurious to the public welfare.

The deep anxiety he felt on this subject, his ardent desire to heal the breach, and the means he took to accomplish it, will appear in the following extract from a letter, which he wrote to Jefferson.

"How unfortunate, and how much to be regretted is it, that, while we are encompassed on all sides with avowed enemies and insidious friends, internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals. The latter, to me, is the most serious, the most alarming, and the most afflicting of the two; and, without more charity for the opinions and acts of one another in governmental matters, or some more infallible criterion by which the truth of speculative opinions, before they have undergone the test of experience, are to be forejudged, than has yet fallen to the lot of fallibility, I believe it will be difficult, if not impracticable, to manage the reins of government, or to keep the parts of it together; for if, instead of laying our shoulders to the machine after measures are decided on, one pulls this way and another that, before the utility of the thing is fairly tried, it must inevitably be torn asunder; and in my opinion the fairest prospect of happiness and prosperity, that ever was presented to man, will be lost perhaps for ever.

"My earnest wish and my fondest hope, therefore, is, that, instead of wounding suspicions and irritating charges, there may be liberal allowances, mutual forbearances, and temporizing yieldings on all sides. Under the exercise of these, matters will go on smoothly, and, if possible, more prosperously. Without them,

every thing must rub; the wheels of government will clog; our enemies will triumph, and, by throwing their weight into the disaffected scale, may accomplish the ruin of the goodly fabric we have been erecting.

"I do not mean to apply this advice, or these observations, to any particular person or character. I have given them in the same general terms to other officers of the government; because the disagreements, which have arisen from difference of opinions, and the attacks, which have been made upon almost all the measures of government, and most of its executive officers, have for a long time past filled me with painful sensations, and cannot fail, I think, of producing unhappy consequences at home and abroad."

He wrote likewise to Hamilton, nearly at the same time and almost in the same words, and added; "Differences in political opinions are as unavoidable, as, to a certain point, they may perhaps be necessary; but it is exceedingly to be regretted, that subjects cannot be discussed with temper on the one hand, or decisions submitted to without having the motives, which led to them, improperly implicated on the other; and this regret borders on chagrin, when we find that men of abilities, zealous patriots, having the same *general* objects in view, and the same upright intentions to prosecute them, will not exercise more charity in deciding on the opinions and actions of one another. When matters get to such lengths, the natural inference is, that both sides have strained the cords beyond their bearing, and that a middle course would be found the best, until experience shall have decided on the right way, or (which is not to be expected, because it is denied to mortals,) there shall be some infallible rule by which we could forejudge events."

In another letter to Jefferson, after again recommend-

ing mutual forbearance and conciliation, he said; "A measure of this sort would produce harmony and consequent good in our public councils. The contrary will inevitably introduce confusion and serious mischiefs; and for what? Because mankind cannot think alike, but would adopt different means to attain the same ends. For I will frankly and solemnly declare, that I believe the views of both of you to be pure and well-meant, and that experience only will decide, with respect to the salutariness of the measures, which are the subjects of dispute. Why, then, when some of the best citizens in the United States, men of discernment, uniform and tried patriots, who have no sinister views to promote, but are chaste in their ways of thinking and acting, are to be found, some on one side and some on the other of the questions, which have caused these agitations, should either of you be so tenacious of your opinions, as to make no allowances for those of the other? I could, and indeed was about to add more on this interesting subject, but will forbear, at least for the present, after expressing a wish, that the cup, which has been presented to us, may not be snatched from our lips by a discordance of action, when I am persuaded there is no discordance in your views. I have a great, a sincere esteem and regard for you both, and ardently wish that some line may be marked out by which both of you could walk."

Unhappily this line was never found. The two secretaries continued to diverge from each other, both in their political course and their private feelings, till their differences settled into a personal enmity, which neither the advice of friends could modify, nor time eradicate. This was the more lamented by Washington, as, according to his own declaration and the whole tenor of his intercourse, he had a sincere attachment to both

of them and confidence in their patriotic intentions, and as he foresaw the fatal consequences, which might result from a heated strife between men, whose talents and political consideration gave them so commanding an influence over the public will.*

* The letters of Hamilton and Jefferson on this subject, and the merits of their controversy as explained by themselves, may be seen in Volume X. p. 515, Appendix.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Washington is elected President for a Second Term. — Takes the Oath of Office. — Relations between the United States and France. — Opinions of the Cabinet. — Proclamation of Neutrality. — Party Divisions and Excitements. — Genet received as Minister from France. — His extraordinary Conduct. — Democratic Societies. — Washington's Opinion of these Societies, and on the Subject of instructing Representatives. — Relations with England. — British Orders in Violation of Neutral Rights. — Meeting of Congress. — The President recommends Measures of Defence. — Character of Washington by Mr. Fox. — Letter from Lord Erskine. — Commercial Affairs. — Mr. Madison's Commercial Resolutions. — Mr. Jay appointed Envoy Extraordinary to negotiate a Treaty with England. — Military Preparations. — Insurrection in Pennsylvania. — Measures adopted by the President for suppressing it. — Plan for redeeming the Public Debt.

When the President's term of office, as prescribed by the Constitution, was drawing to a close, no little anxiety was felt and expressed, as to his willingness again to receive the suffrages of the people. The reluctance with which he had consented to the first election was so great, that it was feared he could not be prevailed upon to remain longer in public life. From his friends in different parts of the country he received early communications on the subject, urging him not to decide hastily, and, if possible, to reconcile himself to a second election. Three members of the cabinet, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Randolph, each wrote to him a long letter, containing reasons why it was of the utmost importance to his own reputation and to the public interests, that, for the present at least, he should not retire.

Each of these gentlemen drew a picture of the condition of the country, its future prospects, and the state of parties; and, although they differed radically concerning some of the principal measures of the adminis

tration, they agreed in opinion, that the character, influence, and steady hand of Washington were necessary to secure the stability of government, if not to preserve the nation from anarchy. Their language is strong, and shows the anxious concern with which the crisis was viewed by men of all parties.

"The confidence of the whole Union," said Jefferson, "is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument, which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and south will hang together, if they have you to hang on; and, if the first corrective of a numerous representation should fail in its effect, your presence will give time for trying others not inconsistent with the union and peace of the States. I am perfectly aware of the oppression under which your present office lays your mind, and of the ardor with which you pant for retirement to domestic life. But there is sometimes an eminence of character on which society have such peculiar claims, as to control the predilection of the individual for a particular walk of happiness, and restrain him to that alone arising from the present and future benedictions of mankind. This seems to be your condition, and the law imposed on you by Providence, in forming your character, and fashioning the events on which it was to operate; and it is to motives like these, and not to personal anxieties of mine or others, who have no right to call on you for sacrifices, that I appeal from your former determination and urge a revisal of it, on the ground of change in the aspect of things. Should an honest majority result from the new and enlarged representation, should those acquiesce, whose principles or interests they may control, your wishes for retirement would be gratified with less danger, as soon as that shall be manifest,

without awaiting the completion of the second period of four years. One or two sessions will determine the crisis; and I cannot but hope, that you can resolve to add one or two more to the many years you have already sacrificed to the good of mankind."

Hamilton was equally strenuous and decided. "It is clear," said he, "that if you continue in office, nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended; if you quit, much is to be dreaded; that the same motives, which induced you to accept originally, ought to decide you to continue till matters have assumed a more determinate aspect; that indeed it would have been better, as it regards your own character, that you had never consented to come forward, than now to leave the business unfinished and in danger of being undone; that, in the event of storms arising, there would be an imputation either of want of foresight or want of firmness; and, in fine, that on public and personal accounts, on patriotic and prudential considerations, the clear path to be pursued by you will be again to obey the voice of your country. I trust, and I pray God, that you will determine to make a further sacrifice of your tranquillity and happiness to the public good."

Randolph spoke with the same urgency. "The fuel, which has been already gathered for combustion," he observed, "wants no addition. But how awfully might it be increased, were the violence, which is now suspended by a universal submission to your pretensions, let loose by your resignation. The constitution would never have been adopted, but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it. It is in a state of probation. The most inauspicious struggles are past, but the public deliberations need stability. You alone can give them stability. You suffered yourself to yield when

the voice of your country summoned you to the administration. Should a civil war arise, you cannot stay at home. And how much easier will it be to disperse the factions, which are rushing to this catastrophe, than to subdue them after they shall appear in arms? It is the fixed opinion of the world, that you surrender nothing incomplete."

Sentiments like these, uttered by his confidential advisers, whose political opinions he knew were at variance with each other, could not fail to make a deep impression, and the more so as they were reiterated from every quarter. He seems to have resolved at one time to follow his inclination, and retire at the end of his first term of service. This is evident from his having prepared a farewell address to the people, designed for the occasion of his taking leave of them. But he never made a public declaration to that effect, and he was finally chosen for a second period of four years by the unanimous vote of the electors. On the 4th of March, 1793, he took the oath of office in the senate-chamber, in presence of the members of the cabinet, various public officers, foreign ministers, and such other persons as could be accommodated.

In addition to the Indian war, the contests of parties, and other internal troubles with which the administration was embarrassed, the foreign relations of the United States were every day becoming peculiarly delicate and inauspicious. Scarcely had the President entered upon his new term of office, when the intelligence was received, that France had declared war against England and Holland. The French revolution, in its earliest stages, was hailed by almost every one in the United States as a joyful event, and as affording a presage of the happiest results to the cause of freedom and the welfare of mankind. Such would

naturally be the first impulse of a people, who had recently been engaged in a similar struggle, encouraged by the good wishes and strengthened by the assistance of the French nation. Washington partook of this general sentiment.

The sanguinary acts that followed, and the ferocious temper shown by the leaders, left but little ground for hope; yet there were causes still, which induced many to cling to the interests of France, and approve the revolution, although they looked with horror upon the means employed to carry it forward. It was believed to be a warfare of the oppressed against their oppressors, in which justice was asserting her rights, and rescuing from thraldom the victims, who had been so long borne down by the yoke of bondage, and scourged by the rod of despotism. A new era was supposed to have arisen, when liberty was about to go forth successful in conquest, breaking down the strong-holds of tyranny, and building up her temples of peace and concord on their ruins. Ardent minds were easily captivated by this illusion, especially when it harmonized with their opinions on other subjects. Their impressions also derived force from the prejudices against England, deeply rooted and of long standing, which the conduct of the British cabinet since the peace had not contributed to remove.

Gouverneur Morris had been sent to France as minister plenipotentiary from the United States. A friendly intercourse had been kept up between the two countries, on the basis of the treaties of alliance and commerce; but, after the downfall of the King, and amidst the distractions succeeding that event, the minister's situation was embarrassing. It was the opinion of Washington, in which his cabinet agreed with him, that every nation had a right to govern itself as it chose, and that

other nations were bound to recognise and respect the existing authority, whatever form it might assume. Mr. Morris was furnished with instructions according to this view of the subject. But the difficulty for a time consisted in ascertaining whether there was any actual government resting on the will of the nation. His prudence in this respect, and his caution not to commit his country rashly, gave umbrage to the nominal rulers, or rather the leaders of the contending factions, who complained, and expressed dissatisfaction, that the United States manifested so little sympathy with their earliest friends and allies, the vindicators of liberty and the rights of man. Such was the state of things when war was declared against England.

It was perceived, that this aspect of affairs would have a direct influence on the foreign relations of the United States, and that it would require the greatest circumspection to prevent the country from being embroiled with the belligerent powers, particularly England and France. When the President first heard the news of the declaration of war, he was at Mount Vernon; and he wrote immediately to the Secretary of State, avowing his determination to maintain a strict neutrality between the hostile parties. Vessels in the ports of the United States were understood to be already designated as privateers, and he desired that measures to put a stop to all such proceedings should be adopted without delay.

On his return to Philadelphia, he summoned a meeting of the cabinet, submitting to each member at the same time a series of questions, which he requested might be considered as preparatory to the meeting. The substance of these questions was, whether a proclamation of neutrality should be issued; whether a minister from the French republic should be received, and, if so, whether it should be absolutely or with qualifi-

cations; whether, in the present condition of France, the United States were bound by good faith to execute the treaties between the two nations, or whether these ought to be suspended till the government should be established; and whether the guarantee in the treaty of alliance was applicable to a defensive war only, or to a war either defensive or offensive. These points involved very important considerations. If the treaty was binding in the case of an offensive war, then a state of neutrality could not be assumed in regard to France; and, if it was applicable to a defensive war only, the intricate question was still to be settled, whether the war on the part of the French was offensive or defensive, or of a mixed and equivocal character, and how far the guarantee ought to be applied under such circumstances.

The cabinet decided unanimously, that a proclamation should be issued, "forbidding the citizens of the United States to take part in any hostilities on the seas, either with or against the belligerent powers, and warning them against carrying to any such powers any of those articles deemed contraband according to the modern usages of nations, and enjoining them from all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those at war." It was also agreed, with the same unanimity, that a minister from the French republic should be received. On the subject of qualifying his reception, the members of the cabinet were divided in opinion, Jefferson and Randolph being opposed to any qualification implying that the relations between the two countries were changed, and Hamilton and Knox being in favor of it, because they believed there was in reality no fixed government in France, and they feared that a recognition of the existing authority might involve the United States in difficulties with that nation and with other powers.

As to the question of guarantee, the two former thought it not necessary to come to any formal decision, while the two latter argued that the treaty of alliance was plainly defensive, and that the guarantee could not apply to a war, which had been begun by France. The President required the opinions and arguments of each member of the cabinet in writing; and, after deliberately weighing them, he decided, that a minister should be received on the same terms as formerly, and that the obligations of the treaties ought to remain in full force, leaving the subject of guarantee for future consideration, aided by a better knowledge of the condition and prospects of France.

The proclamation of neutrality was signed on the 22d of April, and immediately published. This measure, in regard both to its character and its consequences, was one of the most important of Washington's administration. It was the basis of a system, by which the intercourse with foreign nations was regulated, and which was rigidly adhered to. In fact it was the only step, that could have saved the United States from being drawn into the vortex of the European wars, which raged with so much violence for a long time afterwards. Its wisdom and its good effects are now so obvious, on a calm review of past events, that one is astonished at the opposition it met with, and the strifes it enkindled, even after making due allowance for the passions and prejudices, which had hitherto been at work in producing discord and divisions.

But so it was, that this act, emanating from the purest motives, founded on the clearest principles of justice, designed to keep the nation in peace and advance its prosperity, was distorted into an instrument for effecting party objects, and made a rallying-point whence to assail the administration and embarrass its movements. It

was denounced as violating the treaty with France, and as indicating an open hostility to that country and partiality for England. In short, it became the dividing line between the two great parties, which had been growing up from the time the constitution was framed, and which consolidated themselves under the names of the Federal and Democratic parties, the former adhering to the administration, the latter opposing it. Foreign affairs were mingled with domestic politics. The friends of neutrality were stigmatized as partisans of England; while they, in their turn, charged their opponents with being devoted to France, abetting the horrors of the revolution, and striving to lead the country into a war, in which nothing could be gained and much might be lost. Thus each side contributed its share to add fuel to the flame.

Washington for a time was allowed to keep aloof from the contest. His character, revered by the people, shielded by their affections, and equally above reproach and suspicion, was too elevated a mark for the shafts of malevolence. But a crisis had now arrived, when the sacredness of virtue, and the services of a life spent in promoting the public weal, could no longer secure him from the assaults of party animosity. The enemies of the administration perceived, that the attempt to execute their plans would be vain, unless they could first weaken his influence by diminishing his popularity. The task was hard and repelling; and it may reasonably be presumed, that a supposed political necessity, rather than cordial good-will, led them to engage in so ungrateful a work. It was pursued with a perseverance and sometimes with an acrimony, for which the best of causes could hardly afford an apology; but, however much it might disturb his repose or embarrass his public measures, it could neither shake his firmness, nor turn

him from his steady purpose of sacrificing every other consideration to the interests of his country.

In the midst of these ferments, M. Genet came to the United States as minister from the French republic. He landed at Charleston, in South Carolina, and travelled thence through the country to Philadelphia. He was received everywhere with such enthusiasm and extravagant marks of attention, as to deceive him into a belief, that the great body of the American people heartily espoused the cause of the French revolution, and was ready to join the citizens of the new republic in carrying the banner of liberty and equality to the ends of the earth. Being of an ardent temperament, and emboldened by these indications, the citizen minister, as he was called, at once commenced a career, as unjustifiable as it was extraordinary. Even before he left Charleston he gave orders for fitting out and arming vessels in that port to cruise as privateers, and commit hostilities on the commerce of nations at peace with the United States. Notwithstanding this act of presumption and rashness, which was known before he reached Philadelphia, he was received by the President with frankness, and with all the respect due to the representative of a foreign power.

Genet declared, that his government was strongly attached to the United States, and had no desire to engage them in the war; but his secret instructions, which he afterwards published, were of a different complexion, and proved very clearly, that the designs of his employers were contrary to the professions of their minister. Indeed his whole conduct, from beginning to end, could have no other tendency than to bring the United States into an immediate conflict with all the powers at war with France. The privateers commissioned by him came into the American ports with prizes. This

produced remonstrances from the British minister, and a demand of restitution. The subject accordingly came before the cabinet. In regard to the lawfulness of the seizures, there was but one opinion. It was decided, that, since every nation had exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory, the act of fitting out armed vessels under the authority of a foreign power was an encroachment on national sovereignty, and a violation of neutral rights, which the government was bound to prevent.

A declaration was accordingly made, that no privateers, fitted out in this manner, should find an asylum in the ports of the United States; and the custom-house officers were instructed to keep a careful watch, and report every vessel which contravened the laws of neutrality. The question of restitution involved intricate points of maritime law, and opinions on this subject varied. It was unanimously agreed, however, that the original owners might justly claim indemnification, and that, if the property was not restored by the captors, the value of it ought to be paid by the government.

The French minister protested against these decisions, became angry and violent, wrote offensive letters to the Secretary of State, and seemed to forget alike the dignity of his station and his character as a man. He still continued to encourage armed vessels to sail from American ports under the French flag. By the firmness of the executive a check was put to this effrontery. Measures were taken to prevent by force the departure of such vessels. The madness of the minister was increased by the obstacles he encountered. Finding himself baffled in all his schemes, he resorted to menaces, accused the President of having usurped the powers of Congress, and more than insinuated that he would appeal to the people for redress. This insult,

aggravated by his previous conduct, could neither be tolerated nor passed over in silence. It was obvious, indeed, that nothing could be hoped from any further intercourse with so wrongheaded a man. A statement of the particulars was drawn up, and forwarded to the French government, with a request that he might be recalled. A more remarkable chapter can hardly be found in the history of diplomacy, than might be furnished from the records of this mission of Genet. It is a memorable instance of the infatuation to which a man of respectable talents and private character may be driven by political frenzy.

Among the pernicious effects of Genet's embassy was the establishment of associations in different parts of the country, called Democratic Societies, upon the model of the Jacobin clubs in France. The first society of this sort was instituted in Philadelphia, under the direction of Genet himself. Others soon followed. Their objects and influence are described by Washington.

"That these societies," he observes, "were instituted by the artful and designing members, (many of their body I have no doubt mean well, but know little of the real plan,) primarily to sow among the people the seeds of jealousy and distrust of the government, by destroying all confidence in the administration of it, and that these doctrines have been budding and blowing ever since, is not new to any one, who is acquainted with the character of their leaders, and has been attentive to their manœuvres.

"Can any thing be more absurd, more arrogant, or more pernicious to the peace of society, than for self-created bodies, forming themselves into permanent censors, and under the shade of night in a conclave resolving that acts of Congress, which have undergone the most deliberate and solemn discussion by the rep-

resentatives of the people, chosen for the express purpose and bringing with them from the different parts of the Union the sense of their constituents, endeavouring, as far as the nature of the thing will admit, to form *their will* into laws for the government of the whole; I say, under these circumstances, for a self-created *permanent* body (for no one denies the right of the people to meet occasionally to petition for, or remonstrate against, any act of the legislature) to declare that *this act* is unconstitutional, and *that act* is pregnant with mischiefs, and that all, who vote contrary to their dogmas, are actuated by selfish motives or under foreign influence, nay, are traitors to their country? Is such a stretch of arrogant presumption to be reconciled with laudable motives, especially when we see the same set of men endeavouring to destroy all confidence in the administration, by arraigning all its acts, without knowing on what ground or with what information it proceeds?"

He had declared similar opinions some years before, when it was a practice in Virginia to form societies for discussing political topics, examining public measures, and instructing delegates to the legislature. He expressed strong disapprobation of these societies in letters to a nephew, who belonged to one of them. Nor was he in any case friendly to positive instructions from electors, believing that the representative, who is of course acquainted with the sentiments of his constituents among whom he resides, should be left to act according to the judgment he shall form, after being enlightened by the arguments and collected wisdom of a deliberative assembly.

The relations with England were even more perplexed, than those with France. A diplomatic intercourse had been commenced after the constitution was

adopted. Mr. Hammond resided in Philadelphia as minister from the British government, and Mr. Thomas Pinckney represented the United States as minister plenipotentiary at the court of St. James. No progress had been made, however, in negotiating a treaty of commerce or removing the causes of complaint. The catalogue of grievances had rather grown longer than shorter. The posts on the frontier were still held, contrary to the treaty of peace, and interferences with the Indians continued. Vessels had been searched and seamen impressed by British officers within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States; and the Bermuda privateers had committed depredations upon American vessels not only with impunity, but with the open sanction of the admiralty court in those islands.

With the design of distressing France, by cutting off her supplies, two orders were issued by the British cabinet, one in June and the other in November, which operated with peculiar force upon American commerce. By the first order, British cruisers were instructed to stop all ships loaded with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any French port, and send them to some convenient port, where the cargoes might be purchased in behalf of his Majesty's government. By the second, ships of war and privateers were required to detain all vessels laden with goods produced in any colony belonging to France, or with provisions for any such colony, and bring them to legal adjudication in the British courts of admiralty. These orders were considered as a direct and flagrant violation of neutral rights, and the American government remonstrated against them as unjust in principle and extremely injurious in their effects.

When Congress assembled, the state of affairs, both external and internal, was largely explained in the

President's speech, and in a separate message accompanied with many documents. In these were comprised the reasons for the course he had pursued, respecting foreign powers, and suggestions for additional legislative enactments to protect the rights of American citizens, and maintain the dignity of the country. While he sought peace, and urged a faithful discharge of every duty towards others, he recommended, that prompt measures should be taken, not only for defence, but for enforcing just claims. "There is a rank due to the United States among nations," said he, "which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity, it must be known, that we are at all times ready for war." These communications were well received by the two houses. Indeed both parties in Congress found so much to condemn in the conduct of the belligerent powers toward neutrals, that on this point they seemed for a moment to forget their dissensions; and, although the proclamation of neutrality continued to be made a theme of declamation and abuse by violent partisans and the presses hostile to the administration, it met with no marks of disapprobation from Congress. *

* It was in allusion to the President's communications to Congress at the opening of this session, that Mr. Fox made the following remarks in the British Parliament, January 31st, 1794.

"And here, Sir, I cannot help alluding to the President of the United States, General Washington, a character whose conduct has been so different from that, which has been pursued by the ministers of this country. How infinitely wiser must appear the spirit and principles manifested in his late address to Congress, than the policy of modern European courts! Illustrious man, deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind; before whom all borrowed

Near the beginning of the session an important report was made by the Secretary of State, respecting the commercial intercourse of the United States with other nations, particularly in regard to its privileges and restrictions, and the means for improving commerce and navigation. The report was able, elaborate, and comprehensive, presenting a view of the trade between the United States and the principal countries of Europe.

Two methods were suggested by the secretary for modifying or removing restrictions; first, by amicable arrangements with foreign powers; secondly, by countervailing acts of the legislature. He preferred the former, if it should be found practicable, and gave his reasons. The subject of navigation was also discussed, and a system of maritime defence recommended.

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greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the potentates of Europe (excepting the members of our own royal family) become little and contemptible! He has had no occasion to have recourse to any tricks of policy or arts of alarm; his authority has been sufficiently supported by the same means by which it was acquired, and his conduct has uniformly been characterized by wisdom, moderation, and firmness. Feeling gratitude to France for the assistance received from her in that great contest, which secured the independence of America, he did not choose to give up the system of neutrality. Having once laid down that line of conduct, which both gratitude and policy pointed out as most proper to be pursued, not all the insults and provocation of the French minister, Genet, could turn him from his purpose. Intrusted with the welfare of a great people, he did not allow the misconduct of another, with respect to himself, for one moment to withdraw his attention from their interest. He had no fear of the Jacobins, he felt no alarm from their principles, and considered no precaution as necessary in order to stop their progress.

"The people over whom he presided he knew to be acquainted with their rights and their duties. He trusted to their own good sense to defeat the effect of those arts, which might be employed to inflame or mislead their minds; and was sensible, that a government could be in no danger, while it retained the attachment and confidence of its subjects; attachment, in this instance, not blindly adopted; confidence not implicitly given, but arising from the conviction of its excellence, and the experience of its blessings. I cannot, indeed, help admiring the wisdom and fortune of this great man. By the phrase 'fortune' I mean not in the

Shortly after making this report, Mr. Jefferson retired from the office of Secretary of State, in conformity with an intimation he had given some months before; having been prevailed upon by the President, apparently against his own inclination, to remain till the end of the year. He was succeeded by Edmund Randolph, whose place as Attorney-general was supplied by William Bradford of Pennsylvania.

The secretary's report gave rise to Mr. Madison's celebrated commercial resolutions, which were long debated in the House of Representatives with a degree of animation, and even of asperity, that had not been exceeded since the adoption of the funding system. These resolutions embraced the general principles of the report, but they aimed at a discrimination in the

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smallest degree to derogate from his merit. But, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot, which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes without stain and without reproach. It must, indeed, create astonishment, that, placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of years a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence, or of mean submission, in his transactions with foreign nations. For him it has been reserved to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career."

To this eulogy of Mr. Fox, may properly be appended the complimentary letter of Mr. Erskine, afterwards Lord Erskine, to General Washington, though written a year later. It accompanied a book on the causes and consequences of the war with France.

"London, 15 March, 1795.

"SIR,

"I have taken the liberty to introduce your august and immortal name in a short sentence, which will be found in the book I send you. I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men; but you are the only human being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God to grant a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world.

"T. ERSKINE."

commercial intercourse with foreign countries, which was viewed in very different lights by the two parties in Congress. They imposed restrictions and additional duties on the manufactures and navigation of nations, which had no commercial treaties with the United States, and a reduction of duties on the tonnage of vessels belonging to nations with which such treaties existed. In this scheme the friends of the administration saw, or imagined they saw, hostility to England and undue favor to France, neither warranted by policy, nor consistent with neutrality; while the other party regarded it as equitable in itself, and as absolutely necessary to protect the commerce of the country from insulting aggression and plunder. Mr. Madison's plan was modified in its progress; but a resolution, retaining the principle of commercial restrictions, finally passed the House of Representatives. It was rejected in the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice-President.

While these discussions were going on with much heat in Congress, a measure was resorted to by the President, which produced considerable effect on the results. Advices from the American minister in London rendered it probable, that the British cabinet were disposed to settle the differences between the two countries on amicable terms. At all events the indications were such, that Washington, firm to his purpose of neutrality and peace, resolved to make the experiment. Accordingly, on the 16th of April, he nominated Mr. Jay to the Senate, as an envoy extraordinary to the court of Great Britain. "My objects are," said he, in a letter to the Secretary of State, "to prevent a war, if justice can be obtained by fair and strong representations of the injuries, which this country has sustained from Great Britain in various ways, to put it in a complete state of military defence, and to provide

eventually for the execution of such measures, as seem to be now pending in Congress, if negotiation in a reasonable time proves unsuccessful." The nomination was confirmed in the Senate by a majority of more than two to one; but it was strenuously opposed by the principal members of the democratic party, particularly Mr. Monroe, and was disapproved by the same party in the House of Representatives.

As a war seemed inevitable, if Mr. Jay's mission should terminate unfavorably, Congress passed acts for putting the country in a state of defence. The principal harbours were to be fortified, and eighty thousand militia to be held in readiness for immediate service. The importation of arms was permitted free of duty, and the President was authorized to purchase galleys, and lay an embargo, if he should think the public interests required it. Additional taxes were levied to meet the expense.

Congress adjourned, after a long and boisterous session, which had contributed not a little to increase the acrimony of parties, multiply the causes of dissension, and inflame the minds of the people. The administration, however, stood firm; and neither the policy nor the opinions of Washington were in any degree changed. In fact, having no personal objects to gain, thinking and acting only for his country, divested of partiality and prejudice as far as it was possible for any man to be, and invariably taking counsel of his conscience and judgment, he stood aloof from the commotions of party and the contagious influence of party spirit. Justice to all nations, peace with all, and a preparation for war as the best safeguard of peace, were the rules of his policy, and his constant aim.

In the course of the preceding winter, M. Fauchet arrived in the United States as minister from France.

At the request of the French government, Mr. Morris was recalled, and James Monroe was appointed as his successor. This selection afforded a strong proof of the impartiality of the President, and of his ardent desire to conciliate differences at home, and preserve amity with foreign nations. Mr. Monroe, being a leader among the opponents to the administration, had shown himself a zealous advocate for France.

Soon after Congress adjourned, the President's attention was called to another subject, of very serious import, both as it regarded the authority of the laws, and the stability of the union. The act of Congress imposing a tax on distilled spirits had, from its first operation, excited much uneasiness in various parts of the country, and in some districts it had been evaded and openly resisted. The inspectors of the revenue appointed by the government were insulted, threatened, and even prevented by force from discharging their duty. To so great a length had these outrages gone in some places, as early as September, 1792, that a proclamation was published by the President, admonishing all persons to refrain from combinations and proceedings, which obstructed the execution of the laws, and requiring the magistrates and courts to exert the powers vested in them for bringing to justice the offenders. Bills of indictment were found against some of these persons, and the marshal attempted to serve the processes issued by the court. He was met by a body of armed men, seized, detained, and harshly treated. The malecontents proceeded from one degree of excess to another, holding seditious meetings, arming themselves, abusing the officers of the government, and bidding defiance to the laws, till they assumed the attitude of insurrection, and prepared for an organized resistance.

The moderation and forbearance, which, according to

his usual practice, the President had exercised towards these deluded people for more than two years, served only to increase their violence, and encourage their determined spirit of hostility. He could no longer hesitate, as to the course he ought to pursue. He resolved to employ the means intrusted to him by the laws, and suppress the insurrection by a military force. As a preparatory step, he issued a proclamation, dated on the 7th of August, in which, after briefly narrating the criminal transactions of the insurgents, and what had been done by the government to allay their discontents and turn them from their treasonable practices, he declared his determination to execute the laws by calling the militia to his aid, and commanded the insurgents and all persons concerned in abetting their acts to disperse and retire peaceably to their abodes before the first day of September.

Having sent out this proclamation, as a preliminary measure exacted by the laws, he next made a requisition for militia on the governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The insurgents chiefly resided in the western counties of Pennsylvania. It was supposed there were among them about sixteen thousand men capable of bearing arms, and that they could bring at least seven thousand into active service. The number of militia at first ordered out was twelve thousand, and it was subsequently increased to fifteen thousand. The Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey took the field at the head of the troops from their respective States, and the command of the whole was conferred on Governor Lee of Virginia.* The place

* The rank of the principal officers, as stated in Washington's Diary, was as follows; first, Governor Lee, commander-in-chief; second, Governor Mifflin; third, Governor Howell; fourth, General Daniel Morgan. The comparative rank of the brigadiers is not mentioned. General Hand was appointed adjutant-general.

of rendezvous for the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops was Bedford. Those from Virginia and Maryland assembled at Cumberland, the site of Old Fort Cumberland, at the junction of Will's Creek with the Potomac River. From every quarter the militia came forward with alacrity, and the best disposition was shown by officers and privates to execute the orders of the government.

The President, accompanied by the Secretary of War, inspected the army at the two places of rendezvous. He went, by way of Harrisburg and Carlisle, first to Cumberland, and thence to Bedford, these places being about thirty miles apart. He gave directions for each division to march across the Allegany Mountains, meet on the other side, and act against the insurgents as circumstances should require. Ascertaining from personal examination that every thing was in readiness, and leaving written instructions with General Lee, he returned to Philadelphia. Congress was soon to meet, and it was important for him to be there at that time. He was absent four weeks.

When he left home he intended to cross the mountains and lead the army in person, if this should seem expedient; but the intelligence he received on the way, and the spirit which animated the troops, convinced him that the insurgents would make no formidable resistance to such a force, and that his further attendance on the expedition was not necessary. The Secretary of War went on with the army to Pittsburg. The result was even more fortunate than could have been expected. No resistance was attempted, and no blood was shed. To preserve quiet, and secure what had been gained, a body of troops continued for some time in the disaffected country under the command of General Morgan.

In the President's speech to Congress, after mentioning somewhat in detail the course he had taken to suppress the insurrection, he recommended further provisions for defence, particularly a reform of the militia system, and also advised that some plan should be adopted for redeeming the public debt, which now amounted to about seventy-six millions of dollars. While this last subject was under discussion in Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury reported a scheme, which he had matured on the basis of the laws previously enacted for regulating the fiscal operations of the government. A sinking fund had already been established by setting apart for that purpose a portion of certain specified taxes; and he proposed that this fund should be enlarged by increasing the duties on imports, tonnage, and distilled spirits, by the money accruing from the sales of public lands, the dividends on bank stock, and the surplus revenue remaining after the annual appropriations had been expended, and that the fund, thus increased, should be applied to the redemption of the debt. This report occasioned much debate, but the secretary's plan was substantially approved, and an act conformable to it was passed.

Before the end of the session, Hamilton resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury. The vacancy was filled by Oliver Wolcott, who was strongly recommended by Hamilton, and whose character was well known and highly respected by the President. General Knox likewise retired from the war department, and was succeeded by Timothy Pickering, at that time Postmaster-general, whose services in the revolution had qualified him in an eminent degree for executing the duties of Secretary of War.

CHAPTER XIX.

The British Treaty ratified by the Senate. — Popular Excitement respecting it. — The Treaty confirmed by the Signature of the President. — Resignation of Mr. Randolph. — Circumstances attending it. — The President refuses to furnish Papers to the House of Representatives in relation to the British Treaty. — Captivity of Lafayette, and Means used by Washington to procure his Liberation. — Difficulties with France in regard to the British Treaty. — Recall of Mr. Monroe. — Washington's Farewell Address. — His last Speech to Congress. — Inauguration of his Successor. — Testimony of Respect shown to him by the Citizens of Philadelphia. — He retires to Mount Vernon. — Review of his Administration. — Remarks on Mr. Jefferson's Conduct towards Washington. — Troubles with France. — Preparations for War. — Washington appointed Commander-in-chief of the Provisional Army of the United States. — Organization and Arrangement of the Army. — His last Illness and Death.

The treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr. Jay, arrived at the seat of government in March, shortly after the session of Congress was closed. The Constitution had provided, that all treaties should be ratified by the Senate, and the President summoned that body to meet in June, for the purpose of considering it.

In the interval, he examined and studied the treaty with the closest attention. It was not altogether such as he wished, perhaps not such as he had hoped. Points were left untouched, which he would gladly have seen introduced and definitively settled; others were so arranged, that he feared they would not prove a sufficient guard against future difficulties between the two nations. But he had perfect confidence in the ability, knowledge, and patriotism of Mr. Jay. He was convinced, that more favorable terms could not be obtained, and that the only alternative was this treaty or none. Some valuable privileges were secured, nothing had been sacrificed, the national honor was maintained, and a

pledge of amity was held out. If the treaty was rejected, a war would certainly follow, the calamities of which, in the actual state of Europe, would be incalculable, and no one could predict when they would end, or to what they would lead. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, and believing peace the greatest blessing his country could possess, he resolved, in case the treaty should be approved by the Senate, to affix to it his signature.

The Senate assembled in June, and, after two weeks' discussion, advised the ratification. One article, however, was excepted. By this article it was stipulated, that a direct trade between the United States and the British West India Islands should be allowed to American vessels not exceeding the burden of seventy tons, laden with the produce of the States or of the Islands; but that molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton should not be transported in American vessels, either from the United States or the Islands, to any part of the world. As cotton was then becoming a product of much importance in the southern States, and had begun to be exported, this restriction was deemed inadmissible; and the ratification of the Senate was to be valid only on condition that an article should be introduced, cancelling the one in which the restriction was contained. Nor was there a unanimity even with this limitation. A bare constitutional majority, that is, exactly two thirds of the members, voted in favor of the treaty.

As this was a novel case, the President was somewhat at a loss to determine how to dispose of it. Whether the act of the Senate could be regarded as a ratification of the treaty, before this new article should be approved by the British government, and whether his signature could properly be affixed to it previously to that event, were questions which he took time to

consider. A new obstacle was thrown in the way by intelligence from Europe, that the British cabinet had renewed the order for seizing provisions in vessels bound to French ports. As this order might imply a construction of the treaty, which could never be admitted in the United States, it was necessary still further to suspend his decision. Viewing the subject in all its relations, however, he inclined to the opinion, that it was best to ratify the treaty with the condition prescribed by the Senate, and at the same time to accompany it with a memorial or remonstrance to the British government against the provision order.

Meantime the treaty was published. At first an imperfect abstract only appeared; but a complete copy was soon after furnished by a member of the Senate to the editor of a newspaper. It thus came clandestinely before the public, without the authority of the executive, and without any of the official documents and correspondence, by which the objects and reasons of the negotiators could be explained. It was dissected, criticized, and condemned, in a tone of passionate and violent declamation, which could scarcely have been exceeded, if the instrument had reduced the United States to their former colonial dependence on England. The merits of the treaty were studiously kept out of sight, and all its objectionable parts were thrust forward, exaggerated, and censured as disgraceful and humiliating to the nation. It was impossible that a clamor so loud and so universal should not produce a strong impression upon every class of the community. The friends of the administration rallied in its defence, but they used the weapons of reason and argument; they talked of moderation and peace, of consistency and good faith. They found few patient listeners, and fewer impartial judges. The torrent was neither to be stemmed, nor

diverted from its course. Public meetings were held; and resolutions and addresses condemning the treaty, and designed to have a popular effect, and to intimidate the executive, were voted, published, and widely circulated among the people.

The first resolves of this sort proceeded from a meeting in Boston. They were forwarded by an express to the President, with a letter from the selectmen of the town. He received them at Baltimore, while on his way to Mount Vernon. Ten days afterwards, having carefully reviewed the subject, and ascertained the sentiments of the cabinet, he answered the letter. It had been his aim, he said, in every act of his administration, to seek the happiness of his fellow-citizens, to discard personal, local, and partial considerations, to look upon the United States as one nation, and to consult only their substantial and permanent interests. "Without a predilection for my own judgment," he added, "I have weighed with attention every argument, which has at any time been brought into view. But the Constitution is the guide, which I never can abandon. It has assigned to the President the power of making treaties, with the advice and consent of the Senate. It was doubtless supposed, that these two branches of government would combine, without passion, and with the best means of information, those facts and principles, upon which the success of our foreign relations will always depend; that they ought not to substitute for their own conviction the opinions of others, or to seek truth through any channel but that of a temperate and well-informed investigation. Under this persuasion, I have resolved on the manner of executing the duty before me. To the high responsibility attached to it, I freely submit; and you, Gentlemen, are at liberty to make these sentiments known as the grounds of my

procedure. While I feel the most lively gratitude for the many instances of approbation from my country, I can no otherwise deserve it, than by obeying the dictates of my conscience." To these sentiments he steadily adhered, and he answered many of the addresses sent to him in nearly the same language.

From the excitement that prevailed, however, and from the resolves of meetings in all parts of the country, he soon perceived, that a formidable attempt was making to stir up the people, with a view of operating on the executive. To defeat this purpose, and to put an end to the disorders hourly increasing by the combined action of over-heated zeal, artifice, and party spirit, he returned to Philadelphia, summoned the cabinet, and submitted the proposition for immediately ratifying the treaty. It was approved by all the members except the Secretary of State, who, although he had before been in favor of it, now thought the step premature, till the provision order should be revoked, and the war between England and France should cease. This opinion had no effect on the President. He signed the treaty, the order was in due time repealed, and the ratification, on the terms advised by the Senate, was reciprocated by the British government.

It would be impossible, within the limits of the present narrative, to sketch even an outline of the transactions relating to this treaty. No more can be said, than that the controversy, occasioned by it, increased the violence of party discord to almost an incredible extent; and that even the motives and character of Washington did not escape a full measure of the abuse, which was poured out upon all, who approved the acts of the administration. Regardless of truth and decorum, his detractors assailed him with a license and malignity, which showed an utter despair of accomplishing their ends by honorable means.

But however they might excite his commiseration, they could not disturb his peace of mind. "I have long since resolved," said he, writing to the governor of Maryland, "for the present time at least, to let my calumniators proceed without any notice being taken of their invectives by myself, or by any others with my participation or knowledge. Their views, I dare say, are readily perceived by all the enlightened and well-disposed part of the community; and by the records of my administration, and not by the voice of faction, I expect to be acquitted or condemned hereafter."

In relation to the treaty, time disappointed its enemies, and more than fulfilled the expectations of its friends. It saved the country from a war, improved its commerce, and served in no small degree to lay the foundation of its durable prosperity. The great points, which were said to be sacrificed or neglected, the impressment of seamen, neutral rights, and colonial trade, have never yet been settled, and are never likely to be settled satisfactorily, while England maintains the ascendency she now holds on the ocean.

The day following that on which the President affixed his name to the treaty, Mr. Randolph resigned the office of Secretary of State. The circumstances are these. While Washington was at Mount Vernon, the British minister, Mr. Hammond, put into the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury a letter from M. Fauchet to the French government, which had been intercepted at sea, whence it found its way to the British cabinet, and was forwarded to Mr. Hammond. The letter was translated by Mr. Pickering, and shown to the President when he arrived in Philadelphia. Its contents were such, as to excite suspicions of Mr. Randolph's conduct. It appeared that his political relations with the French minister had been more intimate and con-

fidential, than was compatible with the office he held in the administration. At all events, it seemed a fair inference from the language of the letter, that M. Fauchet valued his services as having been useful to the French interests, and calculated on them for the future.

In the presence of the other members of the cabinet, the President handed this letter to Mr. Randolph and asked an explanation. He had not before heard of it; and, although he read it without emotion, he expressed much displeasure at the President's manner of bringing it to his notice, and complained that he did not first converse with him on the subject privately. He said that he wished more leisure to examine the letter, before making any detailed remarks on its contents, but added, that, considering the treatment he had received, he could not think of remaining in his office a moment longer. Accordingly he sent in his resignation the same day.

Mr. Randolph published a pamphlet vindicating his conduct, and explaining such parts of the intercepted letter as related to him. From M. Fauchet, who was then on the point of leaving the country, he also obtained a certificate, in which that minister declared, that in his letter he had no intention to say any thing to the disadvantage of Mr. Randolph's character. The statements presented by Mr. Randolph, in proof of his innocence, were not such as to produce entire conviction; but the nature of his task rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for him to adduce positive evidence. He moreover allowed himself to be betrayed into a warmth of temper, and bitterness of feeling, not altogether favorable to his candor. After all that has been made known, the particulars of his conversations with Fauchet, and his designs, are still matters of conjecture.

One fact connected with this affair should be men-

tioned, as being highly creditable to Washington. In preparing his vindication, Mr. Randolph applied for a certain letter, and intimated that papers were withheld. Washington said, in reply; "That you may have no cause to complain of the withholding of any paper, however private and confidential, which you shall think necessary in a case of so serious a nature, I have directed that you should have the inspection of my letter agreeably to your request, and you are at full liberty to publish without reserve any and every private and confidential letter I ever wrote to you; nay, more, every word I ever uttered to you, or in your hearing, from whence you can derive any advantage in your vindication." When it is remembered, that Mr. Randolph had been in the cabinet from the beginning of the administration, the liberty here given affords a striking proof of the consciousness felt by Washington of the perfect rectitude of his own proceedings.

Mr. Pickering was transferred from the war department to the office of Secretary of State, and James McHenry of Maryland was appointed Secretary of War. Mr. Bradford, the Attorney-general, had recently died. He was succeeded by Charles Lee of Virginia.

The foreign relations of the United States had begun to put on a more favorable aspect. Treaties were negotiated with Spain and Algiers, by which the prisoners who had been in bondage for many years under the latter power, were released, and the difficulties with the former, respecting boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi, were amicably adjusted. The victory of General Wayne had also smoothed the way to a treaty with the Indians. On this state of affairs the President congratulated both houses of Congress, when he met them at the opening of the session.

But the British treaty was destined to be a cause of

still further agitation. Great exertions had been made throughout the country to obtain signatures to petitions against it, which were to be presented to the House of Representatives. And, when the treaty was submitted to Congress, as having been ratified by his Britannic Majesty, the members opposed to it indicated a determined purpose to defeat its operation by refusing to pass the laws necessary for carrying it into effect. The warfare was commenced by a resolution, to which a large majority assented, requesting the President to lay before the House the instructions to Mr. Jay, and the correspondence and other documents relating to the negotiation.

This request imposed a delicate task on the President. In his opinion, the power to form treaties rested wholly with the chief magistrate and the Senate, and he believed that the House of Representatives had no right to make a demand, which would imply an encroachment on this power, nor in any manner to interfere with the negotiation of treaties. Yet, in the present excited state of public feeling, a refusal of the request would expose him to the charge of showing disrespect to the representatives of the people, raise suspicions of his motives, and probably furnish a pretext for insinuations, that he had personal reasons for concealment.

From the line of duty, however, he was never known to deviate; and in this case it was too plain to be mistaken. In his answer to the communication from the house, he refused a compliance with the request, and gave his reasons. He said it was clear to his mind, that the power of making treaties was vested by the Constitution exclusively in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate; that, having been a member of the convention, he knew this was the understanding of the framers of the Constitution; that the

subject was fully discussed; that there were reasons for believing the state conventions understood it in the same way; that this construction had hitherto been acquiesced in by the House of Representatives; and that a just regard to the Constitution, and to the duty of his office, required him to resist the principle contended for by the house. If allowed to be put in practice, it would destroy the confidence of foreign powers in the executive, derange the government, and lead to the most mischievous consequences, when it would be too late to apply a remedy.

The members, who voted for the resolution, were not prepared for this refusal; nor did they conceal their disappointment and dissatisfaction. The message gave rise to a debate, which continued for many days, and in which the merits of the treaty, and the constitutional powers of the several departments of the government, were elaborately discussed. Passion, party zeal, eloquence, and argument were all brought to bear on the subject; and the speeches show, that both sides of the question were maintained with unusual ability and force of reasoning. In the end, a majority of the members who were opposed to the treaty yielded to the exigency of the case, and, probably more from expediency than conviction, united in passing the laws necessary for its fulfilment.

Among the events, which contributed to harass the mind and weigh upon the spirits of Washington, none affected him more keenly than the captivity of Lafayette. Gratitude for the services rendered by Lafayette to the United States in times of distress and peril, a respect for his character, founded on a long and intimate acquaintance, and a knowledge of his pure and disinterested principles, had created an ardent attachment, of which many proofs have been exhibited in this narrative, and

many others might be added. In proportion to the strength of this attachment was his affliction at the sufferings of his friend.

After receiving the intelligence of his capture, Washington wrote letters to the Marchioness de Lafayette, expressive of his sympathy, and affording all the consolation in his power. His regret was the greater, because, being at the head of the nation, the family of Lafayette, and the friends of humanity in Europe, expected much from his aid; while in reality he could do nothing more, except by his personal influence, than any other individual. Lafayette was a prisoner, first in the Prussian dominions, and next in the Austrian. There was no diplomatic intercourse between those countries and the United States. Hence the American government, without authority to make a demand or power to enforce it, either directly or through the agency of other governments, could take no decisive steps for his release.

Instructions were sent, and often repeated, to the American ministers at foreign courts, directing them to use all their efforts in his favor. These instructions were faithfully obeyed. Nothing more could be done. The mediation of the British cabinet was sought, but not obtained. That he might leave no means untried, Washington at last wrote a letter to the Emperor of Germany, stating his friendship for Lafayette, suggesting in delicate terms that his sufferings had perhaps been as great as the nature of his case demanded, and requesting that he might be permitted to come to the United States under such restrictions as his Majesty, the Emperor, might think it expedient to prescribe. What influence this letter may have had on the mind of the Emperor, or on the fate of Lafayette, is not known. When restored to liberty, he was delivered over, by

order of the Austrian government, to the American consul at Hamburg.

When the wife and daughters of Lafayette left France, to join him in the prison of Olmutz, his son, George Washington Lafayette, came to the United States. He was affectionately received into the family of President Washington, where he resided nearly two years, till he returned to Europe on hearing of the liberation of his father.

Not long after the treaty was conditionally ratified by the Senate, a copy of it was furnished to the French minister, M. Adet, the successor of M. Fauchet. He objected to some parts of it, as at variance with the treaty subsisting between France and the United States. His objections were answered by the Secretary of State, and such explanations were given as showed, that the treaty could in no degree injure the interests of France, and that the government of the United States was resolved faithfully to fulfil their compact with that nation, according to the strict principles of neutrality, which it was bound to observe in regard to the belligerent powers of Europe. But the rulers of the French republic had viewed with jealousy Mr. Jay's negotiation, as diminishing their hope of a war between Great Britain and the United States; and it is not surprising, that they should be quick to find out points in the treaty, which, by their construction, might be turned to the disadvantage of France. Foreseeing this result, and anxious to remove every ground of dissatisfaction, Washington caused very full instructions to be sent to Mr. Monroe, that he might be able to explain the articles of the treaty, as understood by the American government, and also their designs and conduct in making it.

From the tenor of Mr. Monroe's letters, and from the proceedings of the French Directory, the President

was led to believe, that the minister had been backward in using his instructions, and in furnishing the required explanations. It was known, likewise, that he was hostile to the treaty; and of course, with the best disposition to do his duty, he could hardly enter into the views of the government with the zeal, and represent them with the force of conviction, which the importance of the occasion demanded. The only remedy was to send out another minister. It was resolved, therefore, to recall Mr. Monroe, and make a new appointment. This resolution was unanimously approved by the cabinet. Mr. Monroe was accordingly recalled, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was sent to supply his place.

Some months previously, Mr. Thomas Pinckney had been permitted to return home, having discharged the duties of his office in England, and on a mission for negotiating a treaty at Madrid, to the entire satisfaction of the executive and of his country. Rufus King, who had been a senator from the beginning of the new government, was appointed as his successor at the court of Great Britain.

When the second period of four years, for which Washington had been elected to the Presidency, was approaching its termination, many of his friends, concerned at the present state of the country, and fearing the consequences of the heats and divisions that would arise in choosing his successor, pressed him earnestly to make a still further sacrifice of his inclination to the public good. But his purpose was fixed, and not to be changed. He believed that he had done enough, and that he might now, without any dereliction of duty, resign the helm of government into other hands. Having determined to retire, he thought proper to make this determination known in a formal manner, and at

so early a day, as to enable his fellow-citizens to turn their thoughts to other candidates, and prepare for a new election.

Accordingly his Farewell Address to the people of the United States was published on the 15th of September, nearly six months before his term of office expired. In this paper are embodied the results of his long experience in public affairs, and a system of policy, which in his opinion was the best suited to insure to his country the blessings of union, peace, and prosperity, and the respect of other nations. For the vigor of its language, the soundness of its maxims, the wisdom of its counsels, and its pure and elevated sentiments, this performance is unrivalled; and the lapse of forty years has rather increased than diminished the admiration with which it was universally received. The sensation, which it produced in every class of the community, was as strong as it has been permanent. Even the fierce spirit of party could not resist the impulse, nor weaken its force. The State legislatures, when they assembled, and other public bodies, voted addresses and thanks to the President, expressing a cordial approbation of his conduct during the eight years in which he had filled the office of chief magistrate, and their deep regret that the nation was to be deprived of his services. In some of the States, the Farewell Address was printed and published with the laws by order of the legislatures, as an evidence of the value they attached to its political precepts, and of their affection for its author.*

The two houses of Congress came together in December, and Washington met them for the last time.

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* See the FAREWELL ADDRESS, and various particulars relating to it, in Volume XII. pp. 214, 382.

As he had usually done in his former speeches, he first presented a clear and comprehensive view of the condition of the country, and the executive proceedings within the last year, and then recommended to their consideration certain measures, which he deemed important. Among these were the gradual increase of the navy, a provision for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, the establishment of a national university, and the institution of a military academy. The relations with France were made the subject of a separate message. At the end of his speech he said;

"The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country, on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe and Sovereign Arbiter of Nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government, which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties, may be perpetual."

Little was done during the session. Public attention was engrossed with the pending election. The votes of the electors were returned to Congress, and in February they were opened and counted in the presence of both houses. It appeared that John Adams was chosen President, and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President, the former having the highest number of votes, and the latter the next highest. The strength of the parties was tried in this contest. Mr. Adams was supported by the friends of the administration, or the fed-

eral party, and Mr. Jefferson by its opponents, or the democratic party.

On the 4th of March the President elect took the oath of office and assumed its duties. The ceremony was performed in the hall of the House of Representatives, and in the same manner as had been practised on former occasions. Washington was present as a spectator, happy in resigning the burden of his office, and gratified to see it confided to one, whose long and patriotic services in the cause of his country rendered him worthy of so high a trust.

The citizens of Philadelphia celebrated the day by a testimony of respect for the man, whom they, in common with the whole nation, loved and revered. A splendid entertainment was prepared, which was designed for him as the principal guest, and to which were invited foreign ministers, the heads of the departments, officers of rank, and other distinguished persons. A spacious rotunda was fitted up for the occasion, in which were elegant decorations, emblematical paintings, fanciful devices, and a landscape representing Mount Vernon and the scenery around it, all conspiring to revive associations connected with the life of Washington.

The following anecdote was communicated by the late Bishop White. "On the day before President Washington retired from office, a large company dined with him. Among them were the foreign ministers and their ladies, Mr. and Mrs. Adams, Mr. Jefferson, and other conspicuous persons of both sexes. During the dinner much hilarity prevailed; but, on the removal of the cloth, it was put an end to by the President, certainly without design. Having filled his glass, he addressed the company, with a smile, as nearly as can be recollected in the following words; 'Ladies and gen-

tlemen, this is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man. I do it with sincerity, wishing you all possible happiness.' There was an end of all pleasantry. He, who gives this relation, accidentally directed his eye to the lady of the British minister, Mrs. Liston, and tears were running down her cheeks."

Being once more a private citizen, and having already made preparation for his departure, he proceeded immediately with his family to Mount Vernon. In passing along the road he was welcomed with the same hearty demonstrations of attachment, as when clothed with the dignity and power of office. Before he reached Baltimore, he was met by a military escort and a large concourse of the inhabitants, who accompanied him into the city; and it was not till he had actually arrived at his own mansion, in the tranquil retreat of Mount Vernon, that he could say he was no longer a public man.

In reviewing the administration of Washington, now that the effervescence of party is subsided, and in tracing its effects on the formation and progress of the government, there can hardly be a difference of opinion. No one can doubt its wisdom or its success. Whether another system, more conformable to the views of those who opposed his principal measures, might not have operated equally well, is not a question which needs to be discussed. When a great and permanent good has been done, with the purest motives on the part of the actor, it is not necessary, in forming a just estimate of this good, to inquire by what other means the same end might have been attained.

Notwithstanding the innumerable embarrassments, which attended the first operations of the new government, the nation was never more prosperous than while Washington was at its head. Credit was restored, and established on a sound basis; the public

debt was secured, and its ultimate payment provided for; commerce had increased beyond any former example; the amount of tonnage in the ports of the United States had nearly doubled; the imports and exports had augmented in a considerably larger ratio; and the revenue was much more abundant than had been expected. The war with the Indians was conducted to a successful issue; and a peace was concluded, which promised quiet to the frontier inhabitants, and advantages to the uncivilized tribes. Treaties had been made with foreign powers, in which long standing disputes were amicably settled, contending claims adjusted, and important privileges gained to the United States. The relations with France alone remained in a state of incertitude and perplexity; and this was owing to the condition of affairs in Europe, and not to any thing that had grown out of the acts or policy of the American government.

Much having been said and published respecting Mr. Jefferson's conduct towards Washington, after the former retired from the office of Secretary of State, it may have been expected that some additional facts would appear in this narrative. Such an expectation, however, I have no means of gratifying. Among Washington's papers I have found nothing, which can afford any new elucidation. It has been supposed, that, after his death, certain papers were abstracted from his manuscripts, which contained matters unfavorable to Mr. Jefferson. He was in the habit of writing his diary in small books, and some of these books, written during the period in question, are missing. It may be observed also, that, for the last three or four years of his life, there is no record of a correspondence between him and Mr. Jefferson, nor any papers of importance in which the name of the latter is more than incidentally alluded to. When

I mentioned the subject to Judge Washington, he replied cautiously, that he had never charged any person with having abstracted papers. Indeed, the nature of the case scarcely admitted of positive proof. But, without discussing the question, or examining the conjectural evidence which has been adduced, I will only remark, that I am convinced the suspicion of papers having been taken away, for the purpose alleged, must rest on a very slight foundation.

There can be no doubt, however, that Washington's feelings were wounded by some parts of Mr. Jefferson's conduct, as well as by conversations which were reported to him as having been held at Monticello. He had reposed unlimited confidence in Mr. Jefferson, and shown towards him at all times a sincere and unwavering attachment; and he was not prepared to receive the returns of ingratitude and disrespect, which these conversations seemed to imply. The famous letter to Mazzei, however it may be explained, could not have been read by Washington without pain. The unqualified censure of the administration, which it contained, necessarily included him as the head of the administration. After he retired from the Presidency, an insidious letter was sent to him through the post-office, the object of which was to draw from him political remarks and opinions. It was accidentally discovered, that this letter was subscribed with a fictitious signature, and that it came from a person, who resided near Mr. Jefferson, associated intimately with him, and participated in his political sentiments. It was not ascertained, nor perhaps fully believed, that Mr. Jefferson was accessory to this proceeding; but the circumstances were such, as to make a strong impression upon the mind of Washington. It is also remarkable, that, while Mr. Jefferson was Vice-President, although he passed near Mount Vernon in

his journeys between Monticello and Philadelphia, to attend Congress at two regular sessions and one extra session before Washington's death, he never paid him a visit nor saw him after they separated at the time of Mr. Adams's inauguration.

A decisive judgment on this subject ought not to be formed, however, without considering the position in which Mr. Jefferson was placed, and his own testimony. As the head of a party opposed to the administration, he was the centre of action to that party; and he would necessarily be led to remark on public transactions, and to express his disapprobation of them. At such times, his conversation may have been misinterpreted by his watchful opponents as applying to Washington, when in reality he had in view only the system of measures to which he gave his support. If it is difficult in this case to separate the measures from the man, and the censure of the one from that of the other, it must be remembered, that the difficulty is inherent in the case itself, and that there was no other way by which Mr. Jefferson could escape from it, entertaining such opinions as he did, than by abstaining altogether from speaking on public affairs. This forbearance was not to be expected, nor was it to be required of him, more than of any other person.

Again, Mr. Jefferson has affirmed that no correspondence took place between him and Washington, during the interval in which none has been found among the papers of the latter; that he always believed him to be firmly attached to the republican principles of the constitution, and determined to sustain them at all hazards; and that neither in the letter to Mazzei, nor on any other occasion, did he intend to include Washington among those, whom he charged with moulding the government into monarchical and aristocratical forms.

The substance of this declaration is often repeated in his published letters. In one of these, describing the character of Washington, he says; "His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known; no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man." These considerations seem to show at least, that, whatever may have been Mr. Jefferson's feelings, or the part he acted, in times of warm political strife, a calm review of the past, at a later period, brought him to a just estimate of the character and conduct of Washington. But, after all, it is not easy to be convinced, even by his own statements, that he is not in some degree chargeable with delinquency towards him during the latter years of his life.

Being established again at Mount Vernon, and freed from public toils and cares, Washington returned to the same habits of life, and the same pursuits, which he had always practised at that place. It required neither time nor new incitements to revive a taste for occupations, which had ever afforded him more real enjoyment than any others. Although he had been able to exercise a partial supervision over his private affairs, yet he found, that, after an absence of eight years, much was to be done to repair his houses, restore his farms to the condition in which he had left them, and complete his favorite system of agriculture. To these employments he devoted himself with as lively an interest, as if nothing had occurred to interrupt them.

In writing to a friend, a few weeks after he arrived at Mount Vernon, he said that he began his daily course with the rising of the sun, and first made preparations for the business of the day. "By the time I have accomplished these matters," he adds, "breakfast is ready.

This being over, I mount my horse and ride round my farms, which employs me until it is time to dress for dinner, at which I rarely miss to see strange faces, come as they say out of respect to me. And how different is this from having a few social friends at a cheerful board. The usual time of sitting at table, a walk, and tea, bring me within the dawn of candlelight; previous to which, if not prevented by company, I resolve, that, as soon as the glimmering taper supplies the place of the great luminary, I will retire to my writing-table, and acknowledge the letters I have received. Having given you this history of a day, it will serve for a year." And in this manner a year passed away, and with no other variety than that of the change of visiters, who came from all parts to pay their respects or gratify their curiosity.

But, in the midst of these scenes, it once more became his duty to yield to the claim of his country. The French Directory had rejected the overtures for a reconciliation, and committed outrages and insults against the United States, which no independent nation could bear. Mr. Pinckney, the American plenipotentiary, had been treated with indignity, first by a refusal to receive him as minister, and next by an order to leave the territories of the Republic. At the same time, depredations were made upon American commerce by French cruisers, in violation of the treaty which had subsisted betwen the two nations. President Adams summoned Congress, submitted the subject to them, and recommended preparations for military defence. That no method might be left unattempted for bringing about a reconciliation and insuring peace, two envoys extraordinary, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry, were sent out to join Mr. Pinckney. The three envoys proceeded to Paris, but their mission was unsuccessful.

It seems that the rulers of France had been deceived into a belief, that the people of the United States would not sustain their government in a war against that country. The opposition shown to the British treaty had contributed to foster this delusion; and indeed the conduct of the French ministers in the United States, from the time Genet arrived at Charleston, had clearly indicated a design to separate the people from the government. Such was the confidence of the Executive Directory in this hope, and such their ignorance of the American character, that they had the effrontery to demand money of the envoys as a preliminary to any negotiation for settling the differences between the two nations. This demand was made under the pretence of a redress of grievances, in consequence, as it was alleged, of the unfavorable operation of the British treaty, and of the system of neutrality adopted by the American government. So degrading a proposal could not of course be regarded in any other light than as an insult.

Nothing now remained to be done but to prepare for war. Congress authorized the President to enlist ten thousand men, as a provisional army, and to call them into actual service, if war should be declared against the United States, or whenever in his opinion there should be danger of an invasion.

As soon as it was foreseen, that a resort to arms might be necessary, all eyes were turned upon Washington as the individual to be placed at the head of the army. The weight of his name was of the utmost importance to produce unanimity in the leaders, and secure the confidence and support of the people. "You ought to be aware," said Hamilton, in writing to him, "that, in the event of an open rupture with France, the public voice will again call you to command the armies of your country; and, though all who are attached to you will

from attachment, as well as public considerations, deplore an occasion, which should once more tear you from that repose to which you have so good a right, yet it is the opinion of all those with whom I converse, that you will be compelled to make the sacrifice. All your past labors may demand, to give them efficacy, this further, this very great sacrifice." The President also wrote to him; "We must have your name, if you will permit us to use it. There will be more efficacy in it, than in many an army." This letter was written before any appointments had been made. The following is an extract from Washington's reply.

"From a view of the past and the present, and from the prospect of that which seems to be expected, it is not easy for me to decide satisfactorily on the part it might best become me to act. In case of *actual invasion* by a formidable force, I certainly should not intrench myself under the cover of age and retirement, if my services should be required by my country to assist in repelling it. And, if there be good cause, which must be better known to the government than to private citizens, to expect such an event, delay in preparing for it might be dangerous, improper, and not to be justified by prudence. The uncertainty, however, of the event, in my mind, creates my embarrassment; for I cannot fairly bring it to believe, regardless as the French are of treaties and of the laws of nations, and capable as I conceive them to be of any species of despotism and injustice, that they will attempt to invade this country, after such a uniform and unequivocal expression of the sense of the people in all parts to oppose them with their lives and fortunes."

Before receiving this reply, the President had nominated him to the Senate as Commander-in-chief of the

armies of the United States. The nomination was unanimously confirmed on the 3d of July, the day after it was made. The Secretary of War was despatched in person to Mount Vernon, as the bearer of the commission. Washington accepted the appointment, with two reservations; first, that the principal officers should be such as he approved; secondly, that he should not be called into the field, till the army was in a condition to require his presence, or till it became necessary by the urgency of circumstances. He added, however, that he did not mean to withhold any assistance he could afford in arranging and organizing the army; and, in conformity with the rule he had always followed, he declined receiving any part of the emoluments annexed to his appointment, until he should be in a situation to incur expense.

There was much embarrassment in appointing the principal officers. Some of those, who had served in the revolution, were prominent candidates for appointments in the new army. It became a question, whether their former rank should be taken into account. If this were decided in the affirmative, it would deprive the army of the services of men, whose talents, activity, and influence were of the greatest moment, but who would not accept subordinate places. It was the opinion of Washington, that, since the old army had long been disbanded, and a new one was now to be formed upon different principles and for a different object, no regard ought to be paid to former rank, but that the best men should be selected, and so arranged as most effectually to promote the public good. This opinion prevailed.

The inspector-general was to be the second in command, and there were to be likewise two major-generals. For these offices Washington proposed Alex-

ander Hamilton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Henry Knox, who were to rank in the order in which their names here stand. They were thus appointed. The President was not satisfied with the arrangement. His choice for the inspector-general rested upon Knox, but he acquiesced in the decision of Washington. Unfortunately General Knox was displeased with the arrangement, and declined accepting his commission. He believed that his former services gave him higher claims, than could be advanced for the two younger officers who were placed over him.

From this time to the end of his life a great part of Washington's attention was taken up with the affairs of the new army. His correspondence with the Secretary of War, the major-generals, and other officers, was unremitted and very full, entering into details and communicating instructions, which derived value from his long experience and perfect knowledge of the subject. His letters during this period, if not the most interesting to many readers, will ever be regarded as models of their kind, and as affording evidence that the vigor and fertility of his mind had not decreased with declining years. He passed a month at Philadelphia, where he was assiduously employed with Generals Hamilton and Pinckney in making arrangements for raising and organizing the army. After the plan was finished, he applied himself, with all the ardor of his younger days, to effect its execution.

He never seriously believed, that the French would go to the extremity of invading the United States. But it had always been a maxim with him, that a timely preparation for war afforded the surest means of preserving peace; and on this occasion he acted with as much promptitude and energy, as if the invaders had been actually on the coast. His opinion proved to be correct,

and his prediction was verified. When it was discovered, that a war with the United States would not be against the government alone, but that the whole people would rise to resist aggression and maintain their rights and dignity as a nation, the French rulers relaxed into a more pacific temper. Intimations were given by them of a willingness to coöperate in effecting a friendly and equitable adjustment of existing differences. Listening to these overtures, the President again appointed three envoys extraordinary, and invested them with full powers to negotiate with the French government. When they arrived in Paris, they found Bonaparte at the head of affairs, who, having taken no part in the preceding disputes, and perceiving no advantage in continuing them, readily assented to an accommodation. No event was more desired by Washington, but he did not live to participate in the joy with which the intelligence was received by his countrymen.

Since his retirement from the Presidency, his health had been remarkably good; and, although age had not come without its infirmities, yet he was able to endure fatigue and make exertions of body and mind with scarcely less ease and activity, than he had done in the prime of his strength. On the 12th of December he spent several hours on horseback, riding to his farms, and giving directions to his managers. He returned late in the afternoon, wet and chilled with the rain and sleet, to which he had been exposed while riding home. The water had penetrated to his neck, and snow was lodged in the locks of his hair. A heavy fall of snow the next day prevented his going abroad, except for a short time near his house. A sore throat and hoarseness convinced him, that he had taken cold; but he seemed to apprehend no danger from it. He passed the evening with the family, read the newspapers, and conversed cheerfully till his usual hour for going to rest.

In the night he had an ague, and before the dawn of day the next morning, which was Saturday, the 14th, the soreness in his throat had become so severe, that he breathed and spoke with difficulty. At his request he was bled by one of his overseers, and in the mean time a messenger went for Dr. Craik, who lived nine miles off, at Alexandria. As no relief was obtained by bleeding, and the symptoms were such as to alarm the family, another messenger was despatched for Dr. Brown, who resided nearer Mount Vernon. These physicians arrived in the morning, and Dr. Dick in the course of the day. All the remedies, which their united counsel could devise, were used without effect.

His suffering was acute and unabated through the day, but he bore it with perfect composure and resignation. Towards evening he said to Dr. Craik; "I die hard, but I am not afraid to die. I believed from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long." From that time he said little, except to thank the physicians for their kindness, and request they would give themselves no more trouble, but let him die quietly. Nothing farther was done, and he sank gradually till between ten and eleven o'clock at night, when he expired, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the full possession of his mental faculties; exhibiting in this short and painful illness, and in his death, the same example of patience, fortitude, and submission to the Divine will, which he had shown in all the acts of his life. On Wednesday, the 18th of December, his remains were deposited in the family tomb at Mount Vernon.*

Congress was at this time in session at Philadelphia; and, when the news of the melancholy event arrived

* A particular account of the last illness and death of Washington is contained in the Appendix, No. II.

at the seat of government, both houses immediately adjourned for the remainder of the day. The next morning, as soon as the House of Representatives had convened, Mr. Marshall, afterwards Chief Justice, rose in his place, and addressed the Speaker in an eloquent and pathetic speech, briefly recounting the public acts of Washington. "Let us, then," said he, at the conclusion, "pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the Grand Council of the nation display those sentiments, which the nation feels." He then offered three resolutions, previously prepared by General Henry Lee, which were accepted. By these it was proposed, that the house should in a body wait on the President to express their condolence; that the Speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members and officers of the house be dressed in black, during the session; and that a committee, in conjunction with a committee from the Senate, should be appointed "to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."

The Senate testified their respect and sorrow by similar proceedings. A joint committee of the two houses was appointed, who reported resolutions recommending, that a marble monument should be erected to commemorate the great events in the military and political life of Washington; that an oration, suited to the occasion, should be pronounced in the presence of both houses of Congress; that the people of the United States should wear crape on the left arm thirty days as a badge of mourning; and that the President, in the name of Congress, should be requested to write a letter of condolence to Mrs. Washington. These resolutions were unanimously adopted. The funeral ceremonies

were appropriate and solemn. A procession, consisting of the members of the two houses, public officers, and a large assemblage of citizens, moved from the hall of Congress to the German Lutheran Church, where a discourse was delivered by General Lee, then a representative in Congress.*

But no formal act of the national legislature was required to stir up the hearts of the people, or to remind them of the loss they had sustained in the death of a man, whom they had so long been accustomed to love and revere, and the remembrance of whose deeds and virtues was so closely connected with that of their former perils, and of the causes of their present prosperity and happiness. The mourning was universal. It was manifested by every token, which could indicate the public sentiment and feeling. Orators, divines, journalists, and writers of every class, responded to the general voice in all parts of the country, and employed their talents to solemnize the event, and to honor the memory of him, who, more than any other man, of ancient or modern renown, may claim to be called THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.†

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* See Appendix, No. III.

† Bonaparte rendered unusual honors to the name of Washington, not long after the event of his death was made known in France. By what motives he was prompted, it is needless to inquire. At any rate, both the act itself and his manner of performing it are somewhat remarkable, when regarded in connexion with his subsequent career. He was then First Consul. On the 9th of February, he issued the following order of the day to the army. "Washington is dead! This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberty of his country. His memory will always be dear to the French people, as it will be to all free men of the two worlds; and especially to French soldiers, who, like him and the American soldiers, have combated for liberty and equality." The First Consul likewise ordered, that, during ten days, black crape should be suspended from all the standards and flags throughout the Republic. On the same day a splendid ceremony took place in the Champ de Mars, and the trophies brought by the army from Egypt were displayed with great

The person of Washington was commanding, graceful, and fitly proportioned; his stature six feet, his chest broad and full, his limbs long and somewhat slender, but well shaped and muscular. His features were regular and symmetrical, his eyes of a light blue color, and his whole countenance, in its quiet state, was grave, placid, and benignant. When alone, or not engaged in conversation, he appeared sedate and thoughtful; but, when his attention was excited, his eye kindled quickly, and his face beamed with animation and intelligince. He was not fluent in speech, but what he said was apposite, and listened to with the more interest as being known to come from the heart. He seldom attempted sallies of wit or humor, but no man received more pleasure from an exhibition of them by others; and, although contented in seclusion, he sought his chief happiness in society, and participated with delight in all its rational and innocent amusements. Without austerity on the one hand, or an appearance of condescending familiarity on the other, he was affable, courteous, and cheerful; but it has often been remarked, that there was a dignity in his person and manner, not easy to be defined, which impressed every one that saw him for the first time

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pomp. Immediately after this ceremony was over, a funeral oration, in honor of Washington *(Eloge Funèbre de Washington)* was pronounced by M. de Fontanes, in the Hôtel des Invalides, then called the Temple of Mars. The First Consul, and all the civil and military authorities of the capital, were present.

It may here be mentioned, that Washington was never a Marshal of France, as has often been repeated.

Another tribute was paid to his memory, which is worthy of being recorded. About the time that the news of his death arrived in England, the British fleet, which had recently chased the French fleet into the harbour of Brest, was lying at Torbay, and consisted of nearly sixty ships of the line. Lord Bridport, who had the command, on hearing the intelligence, lowered his flag half-mast. His example was followed by the whole fleet. This fact was communicated to me by an American gentleman, who was on board one of the ships at the time.

with an instinctive deference and awe. This may have arisen in part from a conviction of his superiority, as well as from the effect produced by his external form and deportment.

The character of his mind was unfolded in the public and private acts of his life; and the proofs of his greatness are seen almost as much in the one as the other. The same qualities, which raised him to the ascendency he possessed over the will of a nation as the commander of armies and chief magistrate, caused him to be loved and respected as an individual. Wisdom, judgment, prudence, and firmness were his predominant traits. No man ever saw more clearly the relative importance of things and actions, or divested himself more entirely of the bias of personal interest, partiality, and prejudice, in discriminating between the true and the false, the right and the wrong, in all questions and subjects that were presented to him. He deliberated slowly, but decided surely; and, when his decision was once formed, he seldom reversed it, and never relaxed from the execution of a measure till it was completed. Courage, physical and moral, was a part of his nature; and, whether in battle or in the midst of popular excitement, he was fearless of danger and regardless of consequences to himself.

His ambition was of that noble kind, which aims to excel in whatever it undertakes, and to acquire a power over the hearts of men by promoting their happiness and winning their affections. Sensitive to the approbation of others and solicitous to deserve it, he made no concessions to gain their applause, either by flattering their vanity or yielding to their caprices. Cautious without timidity, bold without rashness, cool in counsel, deliberate but firm in action, clear in foresight, patient under reverses, steady, persevering, and self-possessed, he met

and conquered every obstacle that obstructed his path to honor, renown, and success. More confident in the uprightness of his intentions, than in his resources, he sought knowledge and advice from other men. He chose his counsellors with unerring sagacity; and his quick perception of the soundness of an opinion, and of the strong points in an argument, enabled him to draw to his aid the best fruits of their talents, and the light of their collected wisdom.

His moral qualities were in perfect harmony with those of his intellect. Duty was the ruling principle of his conduct; and the rare endowments of his understanding were not more constantly tasked to devise the best methods of effecting an object, than they were to guard the sanctity of conscience. No instance can be adduced, in which he was actuated by a sinister motive, or endeavoured to attain an end by unworthy means. Truth, integrity, and justice were deeply rooted in his mind; and nothing could rouse his indignation so soon, or so utterly destroy his confidence, as the discovery of the want of these virtues in any one whom he had trusted. Weaknesses, follies, indiscretions, he could forgive; but subterfuge and dishonesty he never forgot, rarely pardoned. He was candid and sincere, true to his friends and faithful to all, neither practising dissimulation, descending to artifice, nor holding out expectations which he did not intend should be realized. His passions were strong, and sometimes they broke out with vehemence, but he had the power of checking them in an instant. Perhaps self-control was the most remarkable trait of his character. It was in part the effect of discipline; yet he seems by nature to have possessed this power in a degree, which has been denied to other men.

A Christian in faith and practice, he was habitually devout. His reverence for religion is seen in his example, his public communications, and his private writings. He uniformly ascribed his successes to the beneficent agency of the Supreme Being. Charitable and humane, he was liberal to the poor, and kind to those in distress. As a husband, son, and brother, he was tender and affectionate. Without vanity, ostentation, or pride, he never spoke of himself or his actions, unless required by circumstances which concerned the public interests. As he was free from envy, so he had the good fortune to escape the envy of others, by standing on an elevation which none could hope to attain. If he had one passion more strong than another, it was love of his country. The purity and ardor of his patriotism were commensurate with the greatness of its object. Love of country in him was invested with the sacred obligation of a duty; and from the faithful discharge of this duty he never swerved for a moment, either in thought or deed, through the whole period of his eventful career.

Such are some of the traits in the character of Washington, which have acquired for him the love and veneration of mankind. If they are not marked with the brilliancy, extravagance, and eccentricity, which in other men have excited the astonishment of the world, so neither are they tarnished by the follies nor disgraced by the crimes of those men. It is the happy combination of rare talents and qualities, the harmonious union of the intellectual and moral powers, rather than the dazzling splendor of any one trait, which constitute the grandeur of his character. If the title of great man ought to be reserved for him, who cannot be charged with an indiscretion or a vice, who spent his life in establishing the independence, the glory, and

durable prosperity of his country, who succeeded in all that he undertook, and whose successes were never won at the expense of honor, justice, integrity, or by the sacrifice of a single principle, this title will not be denied to Washington.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I. p. 3.

ORIGIN AND GENEALOGY OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

There was a tradition in the branch of the Washington family to which General Washington belonged, that their ancestors emigrated to America from Yorkshire in the North of England. No facts had been collected, however, to confirm this tradition, nor did General Washington himself pretend to have any certain knowledge on the subject. Soon after he became President of the United States, Sir Isaac Heard, then Garter King of Arms in London, wrote to him, stating that from curiosity he had been at considerable pains to investigate this matter, and had made some progress, but that he was still in doubt as to several points, and he requested such particulars as could be furnished by the family in America.

To gratify this request, as far as it was in his power, Washington applied to several aged persons for their reminiscences, procured copies and abstracts of wills, and collected such other materials as could be found, from which he drew up a paper and forwarded it to the Garter King of Arms. This paper was the basis of an imperfect genealogical table, which was constructed and sent to Mount Vernon; but an inflammation of the eyes, which seems to have afflicted Sir Isaac Heard for several years before his death, prevented his pursuing the inquiry; and it does not appear, that Washington obtained any other facts than those contained in the paper above mentioned. Sir Isaac Heard ascertained, however, that the two brothers, who were the first of the family that came to America, were not from Yorkshire, but from Northamptonshire, and he traced their ancestors to Lancashire.

While I was in England, searching for the materials which have been used to fill out and illustrate various parts of Wash-

ington's writings, I embraced the opportunity to make further inquiries respecting the origin and history of the family. At the Herald's College I was politely allowed access to all the manuscripts of Sir Isaac Heard on this subject; and, with the aid of these and of the voluminous county histories in the public libraries, I was enabled to collect a few facts, which may be thought worthy of being preserved in connexion with the life of one, who has added so much lustre to the name.

In the County of Durham is a parish called *Washington*, and the earliest period, in which any person is known, or supposed, to have been called by that name, was towards the close of the twelfth century. The following is Hutchinson's account of this parish.

"The manor is mentioned in the Boldon Book,* wherein it is said WILLIAM DE HERTBURN held the same, except the church and the lands thereto appertaining, in exchange for the vill of Hertburn, rendering four pounds, serving in the great chase with two greyhounds, and paying one mark to the palatine aid, when such happened to be raised. At the time of making Bishop Hatfield's survey,† the resident family had assumed a local name, and WILLIAM DE WESSYNGTON, knight, then held the manor and vill. On the inquisition taken at his death, in the twenty-second year of that prelate,‡ it appears that in his service he was to provide three greyhounds for the chase, and, if he took any game in his way to the forest, it should be for the Bishop's use, but what he got on his return was to be taken for his own benefit. In Bishop Langley's § time, we find Washington was become the estate of the Blackstons." ||

The same particulars are stated by Shurtees, who adds the following.

"It seems probable, that either *William de Hertburn*, or his immediate descendants, assumed the local name; for *William de Wessyngton* occurs as a witness in charters of Bishops Robert de Stitchell,¶ and de Insula.** *William de Wessyngton*, chevalier,

"* So called from the parish of Boldon (near Washington), where it was written in 1180, it being a record of survey."

"† About A. D. 1345, when Hatfield was made Bishop."

"‡ About 1367."

"§ Langley was made Bishop in 1406, and died in 1437."

|| HUTCHINSON'S *History of Durham*, Vol. II. p. 489.

¶ Robert de Stichell was made Bishop of Durham in 1261, and died in 1274. — HUTCHINSON'S *History of Durham*, Vol. II. p. 214.

** Robert de Insula, made Bishop in 1274, died 1283. — *Ibid.* p. 223.

had license to settle the manor on himself, his wife Katherine, and his own right heirs, in 1350, and died in 1367, seized of the whole manor and vill, by the abovementioned free rent of four pounds, leaving William his son and heir, who held by the same tenure under Hatfield's survey. Before 1400 the direct line expired in another William, whose only daughter, Dionisia, married Sir William Tempest of Studley." *

From these authorities it appears, that *Hertburn* was the original name of the Washington family, that the latter name probably was assumed by William de Hertburn between the years 1261 and 1274, and that the manor was held in the male line till about the year 1400, or one hundred and thirty years. During this period the name seems to have been usually written *Wessyngton*, though it is sometimes found *Wessington*. In its subsequent changes it was probably written variously at different times, and by different branches of the family. At the Herald's College, in the "Visitation Book" (so called) of Northamptonshire for the year 1618, I found the autographs of *Alban Wasshington* and *Robert Washington*. These persons were uncles to John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to Virginia.

Notwithstanding that the manor was no longer held by a person of the same name, yet the family extended itself; and one of the number, called *John de Wessyngton*, attained to considerable eminence as a scholar and divine, being elected Prior of Durham on the 5th of November, 1416.

"This learned Prior," says Hutchinson, "wrote many tracts, particularly one, *De Juribus et Possessionibus Ecclesiæ Dunelm.*, wherein he proves, that the Priors of Durham were always invested with the dignity of Abbots. There are some of his manuscripts in the Dean and Chapter's library. The account of the paintings in the windows, and of the ornaments and ceremonies of the church, now extant, is by some attributed to him. He renewed the dispute with the Bishop touching the profession of the monks, which was determined in the Prior's favor, and presided at the general chapter held for the order of St. Benedict, at Northampton, in the year 1426. In his time several licenses were obtained for acquiring lands for the monastery. Prior Wessyngton presided thirty years, and departed this life in the year 1446. He was buried before the door of the north aisle, near to St. Benedict's altar. On his tombstone was an inscription in brass, now totally lost." †

* Shurtees's *History of Durham*, Vol. II. p. 40.

† Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, Vol. II. p. 96.

Concerning the times in which the several branches of the family separated from the original stock, and the directions in which they spread, very little is known. During the century following Prior Wessyngton's death, we can trace them in Northumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and perhaps in other parts of England. If we may judge from the records of the transfers of estates and monumental inscriptions contained in the county histories, many, who bore the name, were persons of wealth and consideration. Their armorial bearings were varied, but whether to distinguish different branches of the family, or for other reasons, neither my knowledge of their history, nor my skill in heraldry, enables me to decide.*

The prior of Durham was not the only man of learning among them. Joseph Washington, an eminent lawyer of Gray's Inn, Thoresby says, "is to be remembered among the authors." He wrote the first volume of "Modern Reports"; "Observations upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England," published in 1689; "Abridgment of the Statutes to 1687"; a translation of part of "Lucian's Dialogues"; and other tracts.† He was buried

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* The following extract from Edmondson's *Heraldry* will show some of the varieties, as adopted by the Washingtons in several counties.

WASHINGTON ARMS.

"1. Gules on a fess argent, three mullets pierced of the field.

"2. In Buckinghamshire, Kent, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire; argent, two bars gules in chief, three mullets of the second. Crest, a raven with wings indorsed proper, issuing out of a ducal coronet or.

"3. Gules, two bars in chief, three martlets of the second.

"4. In Lancashire; barry of four argent and gules on a chief of the second, three mullets of the first.

"5. In Yorkshire; vert, a lion rampant argent, within a bordure gobonated argent and azure."

The second variety here described was the one used by General Washington, being probably the original arms of the family.

† THORESBY'S *History of Leeds*, p. 97. Toland says, that he was the translator of Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, in reply to Salmasius. *Life of Milton*, p. 84. The translator's name is not prefixed to the first edition; but the publisher states in an advertisement, "that the person, who took the pains to translate it, did it partly for his own private entertainment, and partly to gratify one or two of his friends, without any design of making it public, and is since deceased." This edition was printed in the year 1692, and it is probable, that Joseph Washington had died not long before that time. The translation is the same, that is usually printed with Milton's prose writings. The interest he took in this performance indicates the tenor of his political sentiments, as well as the fact mentioned by Hunter, that he was an intimate friend of the celebrated Lord Somers.

in the Benchers' Vault of the Inner Temple. He was of the Adwick family, son of Robert Washington, a wealthy merchant, who lived and died at Anstrope Hall, near Leeds.

Anthony Wood says, in his "History of the University of Oxford," that it was allowed by the venerable association, that several persons "might have liberty when they pleased to be created doctors of divinity; but they refused then and the next year to accept that favor." Among the persons, who declined this honor, was Richard Washington of University College.* And Mr. Hunter cites Wood, as giving an account of a remarkable collection of arms and pictures in the apartments of Philip Washington, of the same college, who died in 1635.†

In the history of the civil wars, another of the family, named Henry Washington, is renowned for the resolute and spirited manner, in which he defended the city of Worcester against the forces of the Parliament in 1646.

"Lord Astley, who had succeeded Colonel Sandys as Governor of Worcester, being taken prisoner and confined at Warwick, Sir Henry Washington was made Governor and Colonel in his absence. In the Herald's College it appears, that the last entry of this gentleman's family was made there in the year 1618, at which time the name of Henry Washington, son and heir of William Washington of Packington, in the county of Leicester, occurs; who, on the following grounds, is conjectured to have been afterwards the Governor of Worcester. First, the name of Henry does not occur at all in any other pedigree of Washington. Secondly, his mother was half-sister to the famous George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, which accounts for his great attachment to the King. An uncle of this Henry Washington, mentioned in the entry of the College of Arms above cited, is supposed to have been the ancestor of the renowned General George Washington."‡

In the Appendix to the second volume of Nash's *History of Worcestershire*, there is a highly interesting narrative of the siege of Worcester, drawn from the diary of a gentleman, who was in the city during the whole siege. The conduct of the Governor appears throughout to the greatest advantage. His spirit and firmness will be evident from his first letter to General Fairfax, who demanded a surrender on the 16th of May, eleven days after the King had escaped in disguise from Oxford.

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* *Fasti Oxonienses*, p. 57.

† Hunter's *History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster*, Vol. I. p. 353.

‡ Greene's *History of Worcestershire*, Vol. II. Append. p. 154.

"It is acknowledged by your books, and by report out of your own quarters," said Governor Washington, in reply to Fairfax, "that the King is in some of your armies. That granted, it may be easy for you to procure his Majesty's commands for the disposal of this garrison. Till then, I shall make good the trust reposed in me. As for conditions, if I shall be necessitated, I shall make the best I can. The worst I know, and fear not; if I had, the profession of a soldier had not been begun, nor so long continued, by your Excellency's humble servant."

The King's fortunes were now desperate; but the siege was maintained, even against all hope, for nearly three months, when honorable conditions were granted.

That this Sir Henry Washington was the same person, whose name is conjectured above to be entered in the last *Visitation Book* in the Herald's College, the circumstantial evidence is strong. In Baker's pedigree of this branch of the family, Henry Washington is stated to have been eight years old in 1618. But in the original book at the College I found the entry to be three years. The error was probably occasioned by a misprint of a figure. According to the original entry, therefore, he would have been thirty-one years old at the siege of Worcester, in 1646. He was nephew to John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to America about eleven years after the siege of Worcester, and of course first cousin to General George Washington's grandfather.*

The ancestors of General Washington in a direct line are traced to Whitfield and Warton in the County of Lancaster. Whitaker, in his *History of Northamptonshire*, says of the parish church at Warton; "The tower appears to be contemporary with the restoration of the church, and on the north side of the door are the arms of Washington, an old family of considerable property within the parish; whence it may be inferred, that one of the name either built the steeple at his own expense, or was at least a considerable benefactor to the work." Baker gives a pedigree of the family in Lancaster County for three generations. At what time the migra-

* This Henry Washington is doubtless the same mentioned by Clarendon, as having distinguished himself at the taking of Bristol, in 1643, three years before the siege of Worcester. "Though the division," says Clarendon, "led on by Lord Grandison was beaten off, Lord Grandison himself being hurt; and the other, led on by Colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain, between the places assailed by the other two, weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow." — *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII.

tion of some of the members to the south took place is uncertain. The earliest notice we have on the subject is in 1532, when Lawrence Washington, son of John Washington of Warton, was mayor of Northampton. His mother was a daughter of Robert Kilson of Warton, and sister to Sir Thomas Kilson, alderman of London. From this date the genealogy is unbroken. Upon the surrender of the monasteries in 1538, the manor of Sulgrave near Northampton, which belonged to the Priory of St. Andrew, was given up to the crown; and the next year this manor, and other lands in the vicinity, were granted to Lawrence Washington. Among the manuscripts of Sir Isaac Heard I found a letter to him from Mr. Wykam, dated at Sulgrave, August 15th, 1793, from which the following extract is taken.

"There is in our parish church on a stone slab a brass plate, with this inscription in the old black character. '*Here lyeth buried the bodys of Lawrence Wasshington, Gent. and Anne his wyf, by whome he had issue four sons and seven daughters; which Lawrence dyed ye day of An.* 15—; *and Anne deceased 6th day of October, An. Dm.* 1564.' On the same stone is also a shield much defaced, and effigies in brass of the four sons and seven daughters. Over the four sons is a figure larger than the rest, which is supposed to be the father's effigy. There was formerly one over the seven daughters; but this is gone. The arms of the *Wasshington* family (so spelled on six of the seven) were copied from some painted glass of the old manor-house in this village."

The death of this Lawrence Washington, according to Baker, occurred on the 19th of February, 1584. The manor of Sulgrave descended to his eldest son, Robert. It was long held in the family, and thence derived the name of *Washington's Manor.* The first Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave had eleven children, four sons and seven daughters. His eldest son Robert was twice married, and had sixteen children, ten sons and six daughters Lawrence, the eldest son of Robert Washington, had fourteen children, seven sons and seven daughters. The eldest son was Sir William Washington of Packington, who married the half-sister of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, as stated above, and was the father (as is supposed) of Sir Henry Washington, the defender of Worcester. The second and fourth of these sons were John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to Virginia about the year 1657. They were great-grandsons of the first Lawrence of Sulgrave; and John was the great-grandfather of General Wash-

ington. These particulars may be seen more at large in Baker's pedigree of the family inserted hereafter.

The second son of the first Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave was Sir Lawrence Washington of Garsdon, County of Wilts. His granddaughter, Elizabeth Washington, who appears to have been an only child and heiress, married Robert Shirley, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, afterwards Earl Ferrers and Viscount Tamworth. She died in 1693. The family names were united, and Washington Shirley, a son of Robert, was the second Earl Ferrers. Some of the other Earls since that time have borne the same name.

The history of the American branch of the family, as far as it is known, is contained in President Washington's letter to Sir Isaac Heard, in reply to his inquiries on the subject.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO SIR ISAAC HEARD.

" Philadelphia, 2 May, 1792.

" SIR,

" Your letter of the 7th of December was put into my hands by Mr. Thornton, and I must request that you will accept my acknowledgments, as well for the polite manner in which you express your wishes for my happiness, as for the trouble you have taken in making genealogical collections relative to the family of Washington.

" This is a subject to which I confess I have paid very little attention. My time has been so much occupied in the busy and active scenes of life from an early period of it, that but a small portion could have been devoted to researches of this nature, even if my inclination or particular circumstances should have prompted to the inquiry. I am therefore apprehensive, that it will not be in my power, circumstanced as I am at present, to furnish you with materials to fill up the sketch, which you have sent me, in so accurate a manner as you could wish. We have no office of record in this country, in which exact genealogical documents are preserved; and very few cases, I believe, occur, where a recurrence to pedigrees for any considerable distance back has been found necessary to establish such points, as may frequently arise in older countries.

" On comparing the tables, which you sent, with such documents as are in my possession, and which I could readily obtain from another branch of the family with whom I am in the habit

of correspondence, I find it to be just. I have often heard others of the family, older than myself, say, that our ancestor, who first settled in this country, came from some one of the northern counties of England; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly, I do not precisely remember.

"The arms enclosed in your letter are the same, that are held by the family here; though I have also seen, and have used, as you may perceive by the seal to this packet, a flying griffin for the crest.

"If you can derive any information from the enclosed lineage, which will enable you to complete your table, I shall be well pleased in having been the means of assisting you in those researches, which you have had the politeness to undertake, and shall be glad to be informed of the result, and of the ancient pedigree of the family, some of whom I find intermixed with that of Ferrers.

"Lawrence Washington, from whose Will you enclosed an abstract, was my grandfather. The other abstracts, which you sent, do not, I believe, relate to the family of Washington in Virginia; but of this I cannot speak positively.

"With due consideration, I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"George Washington."

Particulars respecting the Washington Family, enclosed in the above Letter.

"In the year 1657, or thereabouts, and during the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, John and Lawrence Washington, brothers, emigrated from the North of England,* and settled at Bridge's Creek, on the Potomac River, in the County of Westmoreland. But from whom they descended, the subscriber is possessed of no document to ascertain.

"John Washington was employed as general against the Indians in Maryland, and, as a reward for his services, was made a colonel; and the parish wherein he lived was called after him. He married Anne Pope, and left issue two sons, Lawrence and John, and one daughter, Anne, who married Major Francis Wright.

* This tradition probably arose from the circumstance, that John Washington owned an estate at South Cave, in the East Riding of the County of York, where he resided before he came to America.

The time of his death the subscriber is not able to ascertain ; but it appears that he was interred in a vault, which had been erected at Bridge's Creek.

" Lawrence Washington, his eldest son, married Mildred Warner, daughter of Colonel Augustine Warner, of Gloucester County, by whom he had two sons, John and Augustine, and one daughter, named Mildred. He died in 1697, and was interred in the family vault at Bridge's Creek.

" John Washington, the eldest son of Lawrence and Mildred, married Catharine Whiting, of Gloucester County, where he settled, died, and was buried. He had two sons, Warner and Henry ; and three daughters, Mildred, Elizabeth, and Catharine, all of whom are dead.

" Warner Washington married first Elizabeth Macon, daughter of Colonel William Macon of New Kent County, by whom he had one son, who is now living, and bears the name of Warner. His second wife was Hannah, youngest daughter of the Honorable William Fairfax, by whom he left two sons, and five daughters, as follows; namely, Mildred, Hannah, Catharine, Elizabeth, Louisa, Fairfax, and Whiting. The three oldest of the daughters are married; Mildred to ——— Throckmorton, Hannah to ——— Whiting, and Catharine to ——— Nelson. After his second marriage, he removed from Gloucester and settled in Frederic County, where he died in 1791.

" Warner Washington, his son, married ——— Whiting of Gloucester, by whom he has many sons and daughters; the eldest is called Warner, and is now nearly, if not quite, of age.

" Henry, the other son of John and Catharine Washington, married the daughter of Colonel Thacker, of Middlesex County, and died many years ago, leaving one son, Thacker, and two or three daughters.

" Thacker Washington married the daughter of Sir John Peyton, of Gloucester County, and lives on the family estate, left to his grandfather John, at Machodac, in the County of Westmoreland. He has several children.

" Mildred, daughter of John and Catharine, of Gloucester, was twice married, but never had a child. Elizabeth never was married. Catharine married Fielding Lewis, by whom she had a son and daughter. John, the eldest, is now living. Frances died without issue.

"Augustine, son of Lawrence and Mildred Washington, married Jane Butler, the daughter of Caleb Butler of Westmoreland, April 20th, 1715, by whom he had three sons, Butler (who died young), Lawrence, and Augustine, and one daughter, Jane, who died when a child. Jane, wife of Augustine, died November 24th, 1728, and was buried in the family vault at Bridge's Creek.

"Augustine then married Mary Ball, March 6th, 1730, by whom he had issue George [the writer], born February 11th (old style) 1732; Betty, born June 20th, 1733; Samuel, born November 16th, 1734, John Augustine, born January 13th, 1735; Charles, May 1st, 1738; and Mildred, June 21st, 1739, who died October 28th, 1740. Augustine departed this life, April 12th, 1743, aged 49 years, and was interred at Bridge's Creek, in the vault of his ancestors.

"Lawrence, son of Augustine and Jane Washington, married July 19th, 1743, Anne, eldest daughter of the Honorable William Fairfax, of Fairfax county, by whom he had issue Jane, born September 27th, 1744, who died in January, 1745; Fairfax, born August 22d, 1747, who died in October, 1747; Mildred, born September 28th, 1748, who died in 1749; Sarah, born November 7th, 1750, who died in 175–. In 1752, Lawrence himself died, aged about 34, and was interred in a vault, which he had caused to be erected at Mount Vernon, in Fairfax County, where he settled, after he returned from the Carthagena expedition.

"Augustine, son of Augustine and Jane Washington, married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of William Aylett, of Westmoreland County, by whom he had many children, all of whom died in their nonage and single, except Elizabeth, who married Alexander Spotswood, of Spotsylvania County, grandson of General Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, by whom she has a number of children; Anne, who married Burdet Ashton, of Westmoreland, by whom she had one or two children, and died young; and William, who married his cousin Jane, daughter of John Augustine Washington, by whom he has four children. Augustine lived at the ancient mansion seat, in Westmoreland County, where he died, and was interred in the family vault.

"George, eldest son of Augustine Washington by the second marriage, was born in Westmoreland County, and married, January 6th, 1759, Martha Custis, widow of Daniel Parke Custis, and daughter of John Dandridge, both of New Kent County; has no issue.

"Betty, daughter of Augustine and Mary Washington, became

the second wife of Fielding Lewis, by whom she had a number of children, many of whom died young; but five sons and a daughter are yet living.

" Samuel, son of Augustine and Mary, was five times married. 1. To Jane, daughter of Colonel John Champe. 2. To Mildred, daughter of Colonel John Thornton. 3. To Lucy, daughter of Nathaniel Chapman. 4. To Anne, daughter of Colonel William Steptoe, and widow of Willoughby Alleton. 5. To a Widow Perrin. Samuel, by his second wife, Mildred, had issue one son, Thornton, who was twice married, and left three sons. He died in or about the year ——. By his fourth wife, Anne, he had three sons, Ferdinand, George Steptoe, and Lawrence Augustine, and a daughter Harriot. Ferdinand was married, but died soon after, leaving no issue. The other two sons and daughter are living and single. Samuel had children by his other wives, but they all died in their infancy. He departed this life himself, in the year 1781, at Harewood, in the County of Berkeley, where he was buried.

" John Augustine, son of Augustine and Mary, married Hannah Bushrod, daughter of Colonel John Bushrod, of Westmoreland County, by whom he has left two sons, Bushrod and Corbin, and two daughters, Jane and Mildred. He had several other children, but they died young. Jane, his eldest child, married (as has been before observed) William Washington, son of Augustine and Anne Washington, and died in 1791, leaving four children.

" Bushrod married, in 1785, Anne Blackburn, daughter of Colonel Thomas Blackburn, of Prince William County, but has no issue. Corbin married a daughter of the Honorable Richard Henry Lee, by whom he has three sons. Mildred married Thomas Lee, son of the said Richard Henry Lee. John Augustine died in February, 1787, at his estate on Nomony, in Westmoreland County, and was there buried.

" Charles Washington, son of Augustine and Mary, married Mildred Thornton, daughter of Colonel Francis Thornton, of Spotsylvania County, by whom he has four children, George Augustine, Frances, Mildred, and Samuel. George Augustine married Frances Bassett, daughter of Colonel Burwell Bassett, of New Kent, by whom he has had four children; three of whom are living, namely, Anna Maria, George Fayette, and Charles Augustine. Frances married Colonel Burgess Ball, by whom she has had several children. Mildred and Samuel are unmarried.

" Mildred Washington, daughter of Lawrence and Mildred, and sister to John and Augustine Washington, married —— Gregory,

by whom she had three daughters, Frances, Mildred, and Elizabeth, who married three brothers, Colonel Francis Thornton, Colonel John Thornton, and Reuben Thornton, all of Spotsylvania County. She had for her second husband Colonel Henry Willis, and, by him, the present Colonel Lewis Willis of Fredericksburg.

"The above is the best account the subscriber is able at present to give, absent as he is, and at so great a distance, from Virginia, and under circumstances too, which allow no time for inquiry of the family of Washington, from which he is lineally descended.

"The descendants of the first named Lawrence, and the second John, are also numerous; but, for the reasons before mentioned, and from not having the same knowledge of them, and being moreover more remote from their places of residence, and, in truth, not having inquired much into the names or connexion of the lateral branches of the family, I am unable to give a satisfactory account of them. But, if it be in any degree necessary or satisfactory to Sir Isaac Heard, Garter Principal King of Arms, I will, upon intimation thereof, set on foot an inquiry, and will at the same time endeavour to be more particular with respect to the births, names, ages, and burials of those of the branch to which the subscriber belongs.

"George Washington."

After Sir Isaac Heard received this letter, he constructed from it a table, which he forwarded to President Washington, requesting him to supply other dates and descriptions. But there is no evidence of any additional facts having been obtained. It was the chief object of Sir Isaac Heard, however, to ascertain whether John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to Virginia, were of the Sulgrave family, and brothers to Sir William Washington of Packington. This was his impression, but he was not fully satisfied with the proof. It has since been confirmed by Baker, in his *History of Northamptonshire.*

I shall here subjoin Baker's genealogical table of the family before the emigration of the two brothers, and Sir Isaac Heard's table of the American branch in continuation. To these will be added the genealogy of the Washington family of Adwick, taken from Hunter's *History of Doncaster.* It is not known what dedegree of affinity there was between the heads of the two families, but it is probable that there are many descendants from both in America.

TABLE I.

In 30 Henry VIII. (1538-9), the Manor of Sulgrave, parcel of the dissolved Priory of St. Andrew, with all the lands in Sulgrave and Woodford, and certain lands in Stotesbury and Cotton, near Northampton, late belonging to the said Priory, and all lands in Sulgrave late belonging to the dissolved priories of canons Ashby and Catesby, were granted to Lawrence Washington, of Northampton, Gent., who died seized in 26 Eliz. (1583-4), leaving Robert Washington his son and heir, aged forty years, who, jointly with his eldest son Lawrence Washington, sold the Manor of Sulgrave in 8 Jac. (1610) to his nephew, Lawrence Makepeace, of the Inner Temple, London, Gent.

Lawrence Washington, after the sale of this estate retired to Brington, where he died. His second son, John Washington, emigrated to America about the middle of the seventeenth century; and, as exhibited in the subjoined pedigree, was great-grandfather of George Washington, the first President of the United States.

PEDIGREE OF WASHINGTON OF SULGRAVE.

Arms. Argent, two bars, gules in chief, three mullets of the second. Crest, a raven with wings indorsed proper, issuing out of a ducal coronet or.

John Washington, of Whitfield, co. Lanc. = ...

1. John Washington, = ... dau. of Whitfield, co. Lanc. of ....

Westfield, = 2. Robert Washington, = ... d. of Miles Whittington, = Agnes, d. of ...., Bateman, of Hersham, of co. Lanc.; 1 w. of Warton, co. Lanc., gent. of Barwick, co. Lanc.; 2 w. co. Westm.; 3 w.

1. John Washington, of Warton, co. Lanc., gent. = Margaret, dau. of Robert Kilson, of Warton, and sister of Sir Thos. Kilson, Ald. of London.

2. Thomas Washington.

Ellen, wife of Samuel Mason of Warton.

Robert Washington. = ...

Miles Washington.

.... Washington. Anthony Washington.

Matthew Washington. Elizabeth.

1 w. Elizabeth, wid. of William Gough, of Northampton, ob. s. p.

1. Lawrence Washington, of Northampton, and of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, esq., Mayor of Northampton 1532 and 1545, grantee of Sulgrave, 30 Hen. VIII. (1538-9) 26 Eliz. (1583-4). = 2 w. Anne, d. of Robert Pargiter, of Gretworth, gent., ob. 7 Oct. 1564. ob. 19 Feb.

2. Nicholas Washington.
3. Leonard Washington.
4. Peter Washington.
5. Thomas Washington.

Jane, w. of Humphrey Gardiner, of Cockeram, co. Lanc.

Thomas Washington, of Compton, co. Sussex, Capt. in Flanders. = ... d. of .... Deering.

1 w. Elizabeth, d. and h. of Walter Light, of Radway, co. Warw.

1. Robert Washington, of Sulgrave, esq., æt. 40 esc. 26 Eliz., jointly with his son Lawrence sold Sulgrave, 8 Jac. 1610. = 2 w. Anne, dau. of .... Fisher, of Hanslope, co. Bucks, oc. 1601.

2. Sir Lawrence Washington, of Garsdon, co. Wilts, bur. there 24 May, 1643, æt. 64. = Anne, dau. of .... bur. at Garsdon 16 June, 1645.

3. ....
4. ....

1. Frances, w. of John Thompson, of Sulgrave.
2. Anne, w. of Edmund Foster, of Hanslope, co. Bucks.
3. Elizabeth.
4. Magdalen.
5. Barbara.

Mary, w. of Abel Makepeace, of Chipping Wardon, gent.

Margaret, w. of Gerard Hawtyn, of Lee, co. Oxon.

Richard Washington, ob. s. p.

Lucy, wife of .... Chirlewight, of co. Camb.

Anne, w. of Robert Bateman.

Katherine, w. of Melchior Reynolds.

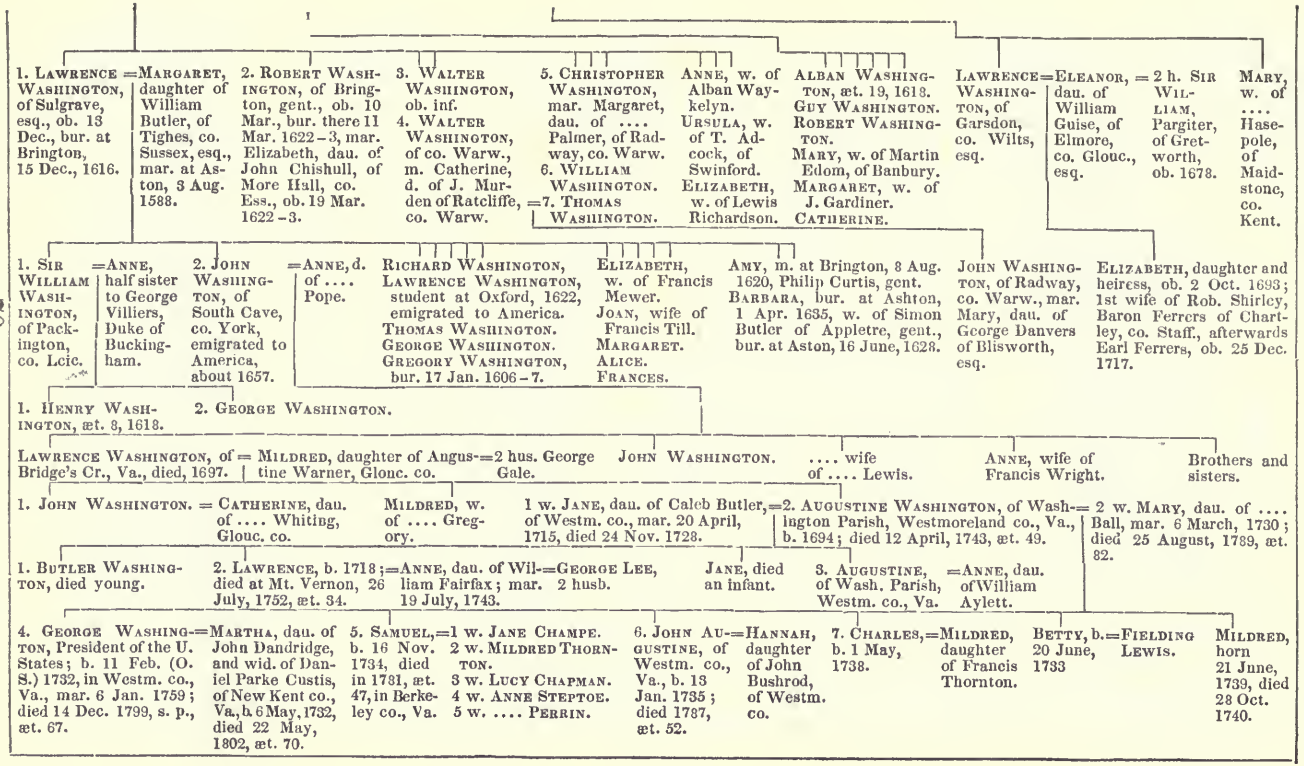
1. LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, of Sulgrave, esq., ob. 13 Dec., bur. at Brington, 15 Dec., 1616.
MARGARET, daughter of William Butler, of Tighes, co. Sussex, esq., mar. at Aston, 3 Aug. 1588.
2. ROBERT WASHINGTON, of Brington, gent., ob. 10 Mar., bur. there 11 Mar. 1622–3, mar. Elizabeth, dau. of John Chishull, of More Hall, co. Ess., ob. 19 Mar. 1622–3.
3. WALTER WASHINGTON, ob. inf.
4. WALTER WASHINGTON, of co. Warw., m. Catherine, d. of J. Murden of Ratcliffe, co. Warw.
5. CHRISTOPHER WASHINGTON, mar. Margaret, dau. of .... Palmer, of Radway, co. Warw.
6. WILLIAM WASHINGTON.
7. THOMAS WASHINGTON.
ANNE, w. of Alban Waykelyn.
URSULA, w. of T. Adcock, of Swinford.
ELIZABETH, w. of Lewis Richardson.
ALBAN WASHINGTON, æt. 19, 1618.
GUY WASHINGTON.
ROBERT WASHINGTON.
MARY, w. of Martin Edom, of Banbury.
MARGARET, w. of J. Gardiner.
CATHERINE.
LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, of Garsdon, co. Wilts, esq.
ELEANOR, dau. of William Guise, of Elmore, co. Glouc., esq.
2 h. SIR WILLIAM, Pargiter, of Gretworth, ob. 1678.
MARY, w. of .... Hasepole, of Maidstone, co. Kent.
1. SIR WILLIAM WASHINGTON, of Packington, co. Leic.
ANNE, half sister to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
2. JOHN WASHINGTON, of South Cave, co. York, emigrated to America, about 1657.
ANNE, d. of .... Pope.
RICHARD WASHINGTON, LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, student at Oxford, 1622, emigrated to America. THOMAS WASHINGTON. GEORGE WASHINGTON. GREGORY WASHINGTON, bur. 17 Jan. 1606–7.
ELIZABETH, w. of Francis Mewer. JOAN, wife of Francis Till. MARGARET. ALICE. FRANCES.
AMY, m. at Brington, 8 Aug. 1620, Philip Curtis, gent. BARBARA, bur. at Ashton, 1 Apr. 1635, w. of Simon Butler of Appletre, gent., bur. at Aston, 16 June, 1628.
JOHN WASHINGTON, of Radway, co. Warw., mar. Mary, dau. of George Danvers of Blisworth, esq.
ELIZABETH, daughter and heiress, ob. 2 Oct. 1693; 1st wife of Rob. Shirley, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, co. Staff., afterwards Earl Ferrers, ob. 25 Dec. 1717.
1. HENRY WASHINGTON, æt. 8, 1618.
2. GEORGE WASHINGTON.
LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, of Bridge's Cr., Va., died, 1697.
MILDRED, daughter of Augustine Warner, Glouc. co.
2 hus. George Gale.
JOHN WASHINGTON.
.... wife of .... Lewis.
ANNE, wife of Francis Wright.
Brothers and sisters.
1. JOHN WASHINGTON.
CATHERINE, dau. of .... Whiting, Glouc. co.
MILDRED, w. of .... Gregory.
1 w. JANE, dau. of Caleb Butler, of Westm. co., mar. 20 April, 1715, died 24 Nov. 1728.
2. AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, of Washington Parish, Westmoreland co., Va., b. 1694; died 12 April, 1743, æt. 49.
2 w. MARY, dau. of .... Ball, mar. 6 March, 1730; died 25 August, 1789, æt. 82.
1. BUTLER WASHINGTON, died young.
2. LAWRENCE, b. 1718; died at Mt. Vernon, 26 July, 1752, æt. 34.
ANNE, dau. of William Fairfax; mar. 19 July, 1743.
GEORGE LEE, 2 husb.
JANE, died an infant.
3. AUGUSTINE, of Wash. Parish, Westm. co., Va.
ANNE, dau. of William Aylett.
4. GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the U. States; b. 11 Feb. (O. S.) 1732, in Westm. co., Va., mar. 6 Jan. 1759; died 14 Dec. 1799, s. p., æt. 67.
MARTHA, dau. of John Dandridge, and wid. of Daniel Parke Custis, of New Kent co., Va., b. 6 May, 1732, died 22 May, 1802, æt. 70.
5. SAMUEL, b. 16 Nov. 1734, died in 1781, æt. 47, in Berkeley co., Va.
1 w. JANE CHAMPE. 2 w. MILDRED THORNTON. 3 w. LUCY CHAPMAN. 4 w. ANNE STEPTOE. 5 w. .... PERRIN.
6. JOHN AUGUSTINE, of Westm. co., Va., b. 13 Jan. 1735; died 1787, æt. 52.
HANNAH, daughter of John Bushrod, of Westm. co.
7. CHARLES, b. 1 May, 1738.
MILDRED, daughter of Francis Thornton.
BETTY, b. 20 June, 1733
FIELDING LEWIS.
MILDRED, born 21 June, 1739, died 28 Oct. 1740.

TABLE II.

PEDIGREE OF WASHINGTON OF ADWICK-LE-STREET. — ARMS. Argent, two bars, and three mullets in chief gules.

RICHARD WASHINGTON. = JANE LUND.

JAMES WASHINGTON, of Adwick-le-Street, esq., a justice of the peace 22 Elizabeth, died 1580, aged 44, and was buried at Adwick. = MARGARET, dau. of John Anlaby, of Etton, died 1579, aged 35, bur. at Adwick.

- RICHARD WASHINGTON, of Adwick, esq., son and heir, treasurer of the lame soldiers, 22 Jac. I. = MARY, dau. of Thos. Wombwell, of Wombwell, esq.
  - DARCY WASHINGTON, of Adwick, esq. = ANN, dau. of Matthew Wentworth, of Bretton, esq.
    - JAMES WASHINGTON, of Adwick, esq., a lieut.-col. in the king's army, died at the siege of Pontefract. = ELIZABETH, dau. of William Copley, of Sprotborough, survived, and married Stephen Eyre.
      - RICHARD WASHINGTON, of Adwick, esq.; a captain in the trained bands, aged 28, 1666, died 1678, aged 39. = ELIZABETH, dau. of .... Ap Rees, of Washingley, co. Hunt.
        - RICHARD WASHINGTON = ... of Adwick, bapt. 1673, living 1703.
          - GODFREY WASHINGTON, of Doncaster, 2nd son, coroner for the West Riding, born 1710, died about 1770.
          - JAMES.
          - JOHN.
        - JAMES.
        - ROBERT.
      - FOLJAMBE, buried at Barnsley, 1678.
      - GODFREY, died unmar. 1709, aged 70.
    - DARCY.
    - RICHARD, died young.
    - MATTHEW, bur. at Silkstone, 1633.
  - PHILIP, of University coll. Oxon, where he died, 1635.
  - GODFREY.
  - WILLIAM.
- JOHN.
  - MARTIN.
  - PHILIP.
- LEONARD.
  - FRANCIS.
- FRANCES.
  - LUCY.
  - MARY.
- CATHERINE.
  - JANE.
- BARTHOLOMEW, rector of Burgh-Wallis. = ISABEL, to whom adm. was granted, 1622.
  - ANNE.
  - MARMADUKE.
  - MARGARET.
  - GREGORY.
  - BARTHOLOMEW.
- THOMAS.
  - RICHARD, B. D. of University coll. Oxford, and provost of Trin. coll., Dublin.
- FRANCES, mar. Roger Kilvert of London, merchant.
  - ELIZABETH.
  - MARY.
- ANN, mar. George Gill, of Norton, co. Derb.
- GRACE, mar. Thomas Stanhope, of Hampole.
- MARY, mar. John Rawson of Pickburn.
- SARAH, mar. Godfrey Copley, son of Godfrey Copley, of Skelbroke.
- ELIZABETH, died unmarried.
- ROBERT, of Leeds, died, 1674. = ROSAMUND, dau. of .... Ames.
  - FRANCIS, rector of Sprotborough, died 1678. = ELIZABETH BOWER, of Sprotborough, mar. 28 Oct. 1669.
    - JAMES.
    - ELIZABETH.
    - MARY, mar. 1. Peter Hudson, of Doncaster; 2 John Neale, M. D.
  - DOROTHY, m. Henry Dove of Folkworth.
    - MARY, m. Rob. Eyre, of Holmesfield.
    - ELIZABETH.
    - ANNE.
    - FRANCES.
  - JOHN, drowned 1661.
    - JAMES, a merchant at Rotterdam.
    - HANNAH, mar. Henry Moody, of London.
    - GEORGE.
    - GRACE, d. y.
  - JOSEPH, of Gray's Inn, esq. and of Carhouse, near Doncaster. = URSULA, dau. of John Rawson of Pickburn.
    - MARY, bapt. at Doncaster, 1683.
    - JOHN, bapt. at Doncaster, 1686.
    - JUDITH.
    - ELIZABETH, mar. William Hutchinson, merchant.
    - MARY, mar. 1. George Smith, esq. of Skellowgrange; 2. Capt. Murray.

No. II. p. 529.

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF WASHINGTON.*

Mount Vernon, Saturday, December 14th, 1799. — This day being marked by an event, which will be memorable in the history of America, and perhaps of the world, I shall give a particular statement of it, to which I was an eyewitness.

On Thursday, December 12th, the General rode out to his farms about ten o'clock, and did not return home till past three. Soon after he went out, the weather became very bad, rain, hail, snow falling alternately, with a cold wind. When he came in, I carried some letters to him to frank, intending to send them to the post-office in the evening. He franked the letters, but said the weather was too bad to send a servant to the office that evening. I observed to him, that I was afraid he had got wet. He said, No, his great-coat had kept him dry. But his neck appeared to be wet, and the snow was hanging upon his hair. He came to dinner (which had been waiting for him) without changing his dress. In the evening he appeared as well as usual.

A heavy fall of snow took place on Friday, which prevented the General from riding out as usual. He had taken cold, undoubtedly from being so much exposed the day before, and complained of a sore throat. He, however, went out in the afternoon into the ground between the house and the river to mark some trees, which were to be cut down in the improvement of that spot. He had a hoarseness, which increased in the evening; but he made light of it.

In the evening the papers were brought from the post-office, and he sat in the parlour with Mrs. Washington and myself reading them, till about nine o'clock, when Mrs. Washington went up into Mrs. Lewis's room, who was confined, and left the General and myself reading the papers. He was very cheerful, and when he met with any thing interesting or entertaining, he read it aloud as well as his hoarseness would permit. He requested me to read to him the Debates of the Virginia Assembly, on the election of a

* Mr. Tobias Lear, a gentleman of education and talents, resided several years with Washington, first as his secretary, and afterwards as superintendent of his private affairs. He was present during Washington's last illness, and wrote down a narrative of the occurrences immediately after his death. The narrative is here printed as transcribed from Mr. Lear's original manuscript.

Senator and Governor; and, on hearing Mr. Madison's observations respecting Mr. Monroe, he appeared much affected, and spoke with some degree of asperity on the subject, which I endeavoured to moderate, as I always did on such occasions. On his retiring, I observed to him, that he had better take something to remove his cold. He answered, "No; you know I never take any thing for a cold. Let it go as it came."

Between two and three o'clock, on Saturday morning, he awoke Mrs. Washington, and told her that he was very unwell, and had had an ague. She observed, that he could scarcely speak, and breathed with difficulty, and would have got up to call a servant. But he would not permit her, lest she should take a cold. As soon as the day appeared, the woman (Caroline) went into the room to make a fire, and Mrs. Washington sent her immediately to call me. I got up, put on my clothes as quickly as possible, and went to his chamber. Mrs. Washington was then up, and related to me his being ill as before stated. I found the General breathing with difficulty, and hardly able to utter a word intelligibly. He desired Mr. Rawlins (one of the overseers) might be sent for to bleed him before the doctor could arrive. I despatched a servant instantly for Rawlins, and another for Dr. Craik, and returned again to the General's chamber, where I found him in the same situation as I had left him.

A mixture of molasses, vinegar, and butter was prepared to try its effects in the throat; but he could not swallow a drop. Whenever he attempted it, he appeared to be distressed, convulsed, and almost suffocated. Rawlins came in soon after sunrise, and prepared to bleed him. When the arm was ready, the General, observing that Rawlins appeared to be agitated, said, as well as he could speak, "Don't be afraid." And when the incision was made, he observed, "The orifice is not large enough." However, the blood ran pretty freely. Mrs. Washington, not knowing whether bleeding was proper or not in the General's situation, begged that much might not be taken from him, lest it should be injurious, and desired me to stop it; but, when I was about to untie the string, the General put up his hand to prevent it, and, as soon as he could speak, he said, "More, more." Mrs. Washington being still very uneasy, lest too much blood should be taken, it was stopped after taking about half a pint. Finding that no relief was obtained from bleeding, and that nothing would go down the throat, I proposed bathing it externally with *sal volatile*, which was done, and in the operation, which was with the hand, and in the gentlest manner, he

observed, "It is very sore." A piece of flannel dipped in *sal volatile* was put around his neck, and his feet bathed in warm water, but without affording any relief.

In the mean time, before Dr. Craik arrived, Mrs. Washington desired me to send for Dr. Brown of Port Tobacco, whom Dr. Craik had recommended to be called, if any case should ever occur, that was seriously alarming. I despatched a messenger immediately for Dr. Brown between eight and nine o'clock. Dr. Craik came in soon after, and, upon examining the General, he put a blister of cantharides on the throat, took some more blood from him, and had a gargle of vinegar and sage tea prepared; and ordered some vinegar and hot water for him to inhale the steam of it, which he did; but in attempting to use the gargle he was almost suffocated. When the gargle came from the throat, some phlegm followed, and he attempted to cough, which the doctor encouraged him to do as much as possible; but he could only attempt it. About eleven o'clock, Dr. Craik requested that Dr. Dick might be sent for, as he feared Dr. Brown would not come in time. A messenger was accordingly despatched for him. About this time the General was bled again. No effect, however, was produced by it, and he remained in the same state, unable to swallow any thing.

Dr. Dick came about three o'clock, and Dr. Brown arrived soon after. Upon Dr. Dick's seeing the General, and consulting a few minutes with Dr. Craik, he was bled again. The blood came very slow, was thick, and did not produce any symptoms of fainting. Dr. Brown came into the chamber soon after, and upon feeling the General's pulse, the physicians went out together. Dr. Craik returned soon after. The General could now swallow a little. Calomel and tartar emetic were administered, but without any effect.

About half past four o'clock he desired me to call Mrs. Washington to his bedside, when he requested her to go down into his room, and take from his desk two wills, which she would find there, and bring them to him, which she did. Upon looking at them he gave her one, which he observed was useless, as being superseded by the other, and desired her to burn it, which she did, and took the other and put it into her closet.

After this was done, I returned to his bedside and took his hand. He said to me; "I find I am going. My breath cannot last long. I believed from the first, that the disorder would prove fatal. Do you arrange and record all my late military letters and papers. Arrange my accounts and settle my books, as you know

more about them than any one else, and let Mr. Rawlins finish recording my other letters, which he has begun." I told him this should be done. He then asked, if I recollected any thing which it was essential for him to do, as he had but a very short time to continue with us. I told him, that I could recollect nothing, but that I hoped he was not so near his end. He observed, smiling, that he certainly was, and that, as it was the debt which we must all pay, he looked to the event with perfect resignation.

In the course of the afternoon he appeared to be in great pain and distress, from the difficulty of breathing, and frequently changed his posture in the bed. On these occasions I lay upon the bed and endeavoured to raise him, and turn him with as much ease as possible. He appeared penetrated with gratitude for my attentions, and often said, "I am afraid I shall fatigue you too much"; and upon my assuring him, that I could feel nothing but a wish to give him ease, he replied, "Well, it is a debt we must pay to each other, and I hope, when you want aid of this kind, you will find it."

He asked when Mr. Lewis and Washington Custis would return. (They were then in New Kent.) I told him about the 20th of the month.

About five o'clock Dr. Craik came again into the room, and, upon going to the bedside the General said to him; "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long." The Doctor pressed his hand, but could not utter a word. He retired from the bedside, and sat by the fire absorbed in grief.

Between five and six o'clock Dr. Dick and Dr. Brown came into the room, and with Dr. Craik went to the bed, when Dr. Craik asked him if he could sit up in the bed. He held out his hand, and I raised him up. He then said to the physicians; "I feel myself going; I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you to take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long." They found that all which had been done was without effect. He lay down again, and all retired except Dr. Craik. He continued in the same situation, uneasy and restless, but without complaining; frequently asking what hour it was. When I helped him to move at this time, he did not speak, but looked at me with strong expressions of gratitude.

About eight o'clock the physicians came again into the room, and applied blisters and cataplasms of wheat bran to his legs and feet, after which they went out, except Dr. Craik, without a ray of hope. I went out about this time, and wrote a line to Mr. Law and

Mr. Peter, requesting them to come with their wives (Mrs. Washington's granddaughters) as soon as possible to Mount Vernon.

About ten o'clock he made several attempts to speak to me before he could effect it. At length he said; "I am just going. Have me decently buried; and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead." I bowed assent, for I could not speak. He then looked at me again and said; "Do you understand me?" I replied, "Yes." "'T is well," said he.

About ten minutes before he expired (which was between ten and eleven o'clock), his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine, and felt his own pulse. I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He came to the bedside. The General's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine, and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hands over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh.

While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was sitting at the foot of the bed, asked with a firm and collected voice; "Is he gone?" I could not speak, but held up my hand as a signal, that he was no more. "'T is well," said she, in the same voice, "all is now over; I shall soon follow him; I have no more trials to pass through."

Occurrences not noted in the preceding Narrative.

The General's servant, Christopher, was in the room during the day; and in the afternoon the General directed him to sit down, as he had been standing almost the whole day. He did so.

About eight o'clock in the morning, he expressed a desire to get up. His clothes were put on, and he was led to a chair by the fire. He found no relief from that position, and lay down again about ten o'clock.

About five in the afternoon, he was helped up again, and, after sitting about half an hour, he desired to be undressed and put in bed, which was done.

During his whole illness he spoke but seldom, and with great difficulty and distress; and in so low and broken a voice, as at times hardly to be understood. His patience, fortitude, and resignation never forsook him for a moment. In all his distress he uttered not a sigh nor a complaint; always endeavouring, from a sense of duty as it appeared, to take what was offered him, and to do as he was desired by the physicians.

At the time of his decease, Dr. Craik and myself were in the

situation before mentioned. Mrs. Washington was sitting near the foot of the bed. Christopher was standing near the bedside. Caroline, Molly, and Charlotte were in the room, standing near the door. Mrs. Forbes, the housekeeper, was frequently in the room during the day and evening.

As soon as Dr. Craik could speak, after the distressing scene was closed, he desired one of the servants to ask the gentlemen below to come up stairs. When they came to the bedside, I kissed the cold hand, which I had held to my bosom, laid it down, and went to the other end of the room, where I was for some time lost in profound grief, until aroused by Christopher desiring me to take care of the General's keys, and other things, which were taken out of his pockets, and which Mrs. Washington directed him to give to me. I wrapped them in the General's handkerchief, and took them to my room.

About twelve o'clock the corpse was brought down stairs, and laid out in the large room.*

Sunday, December 15th. Mrs. Washington sent for me in the morning, and desired that I would send up to Alexandria and have a coffin made, which I did.

Mrs. Stuart was sent for in the morning. About ten o'clock, Mr. Thomas Peter came down; and about two, Mr. and Mrs. Law, to whom I had written on Saturday evening. Dr. Thornton came down with Mr. Law. Dr. Craik stayed all day and night.

In the evening I consulted with Mr. Law, Mr. Peter, and Dr. Craik on fixing a day for depositing the body in the vault. I wished the ceremony to be postponed till the last of the week, to give time to some of the General's relations to be here; but Dr. Craik and Dr. Thornton gave it decidedly as their opinion, that, considering the disorder of which the General died, being of an inflammatory nature, it would not be proper to keep the body so long, and therefore Wednesday was fixed upon for the funeral.

Monday, December 16th. I directed the people to open the family vault, clear away the rubbish about it, and make every thing decent; ordered a door to be made to the vault, instead of closing

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* The following certificate, in the handwriting of Dr. Craik, is appended to the above portion of Mr. Lear's narrative.

"*Sunday, December 15th.* The foregoing statement, so far as I can recollect, is correct. "JAS. CRAIK."

it again with brick, as had been the custom. Engaged Mr. Inglis and Mr. Munn to have a mahogany coffin made, lined with lead.

Dr. Craik, Mr. Peter, and Dr. Thornton left us after breakfast. Mrs. Stuart and her daughters came in the afternoon. Mr. Anderson went to Alexandria to get a number of things preparatory for the funeral. Mourning was ordered for the family, domestics, and overseers.

Having received information from Alexandria, that the militia, freemasons, &c., were determined to show their respect for the General's memory, by attending his body to the grave, I directed provision to be prepared for a large number of people, as some refreshment would be expected by them. Mr. Robert Hamilton wrote to me a letter, informing me that a schooner of his would be off Mount Vernon to fire minute guns, while the body was carrying to the grave. I gave notice of the time fixed for the funeral to the following persons by Mrs. Washington's desire; namely, Mr. Mason and family, Mr. Peake and family, Mr. Nickols and family, Mr. McCarty and family, Miss McCarty, Mr. and Mrs. McClanahan, Lord Fairfax and family, Mr. Triplet and family, Mr. Anderson and family, Mr. Diggs, Mr. Cockburn and family, Mr. Massey and family, and Mr. R. West. Wrote also the Rev. Mr. Davis to read the service.

Tuesday, December 17th. Every preparation for the mournful ceremony was making. Mr. Stewart, adjutant of the Alexandria regiment, came to view the ground for the procession. About one o'clock the coffin was brought from Alexandria. Mr. Grater accompanied it with a shroud. The body was laid in the coffin. The mahogany coffin was lined with lead, soldered at the joints, with a cover of lead to be soldered on after the body should be in the vault. The coffin was put into a case, lined and covered with black cloth.

Wednesday, December 18th. About eleven o'clock numbers of people began to assemble to attend the funeral, which was intended to have been at twelve o'clock; but, as a great part of the troops expected could not get down in time, it did not take place till three.

Eleven pieces of artillery were brought from Alexandria; and a schooner, belonging to Mr. R. Hamilton, came down and lay off Mount Vernon to fire minute guns.

About three o'clock the procession began to move. The arrangements of the procession were made by Colonels Little, Simms, Deneale, and Dr. Dick. The pall-holders were Colonels Little,

Simms, Payne, Gilpin, Ramsey, and Marsteler. Colonel Blackburn preceded the corpse. Colonel Deneale marched with the military. The procession moved out through the gate at the left wing of the house, and proceeded round in front of the lawn, and down to the vault on the right wing of the house. The procession as follows;

The Troops, horse and foot.
The Clergy, namely, the Reverend Messrs. Davis, Muir, Moffatt, and Addison.
The General's horse, with his saddle, holsters, and pistols, led by two grooms, Cyrus and Wilson, in black.
The Body, borne by the Freemasons and Officers.
Principal Mourners, namely,
Mrs. Stuart and Mrs. Law,
Misses Nancy and Sally Stuart,
Miss Fairfax and Miss Dennison,
Mr. Law and Mr. Peter,
Mr. Lear and Dr. Craik,
Lord Fairfax and Ferdinando Fairfax.
Lodge, No. 23.
Corporation of Alexandria.
All other persons; preceded
by Mr. Anderson and the Overseers.

When the body arrived at the vault, the Rev. Mr. Davis read the service, and pronounced a short address.

The Masons performed their ceremonies, and the body was deposited in the vault.

After the ceremony, the company returned to the house, where they took some refreshment, and retired in good order.

No. III. p. 531.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

SPEECH OF JOHN MARSHALL IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE, DECEMBER 19TH, 1799.*

Mr. Speaker,

The melancholy event, which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more! The hero, the patriot, and the sage of America; the man on whom in times of danger every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

If, Sir, it had even not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom Heaven has selected as its instruments for dispensing good to man, yet such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents, which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow, which is so deep and so universal.

More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide-spreading empire, and to give to the western world independence and freedom.

Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and sink the soldier in the citizen.

When the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots, who formed for us a constitution, which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings, which our Revolution had promised to bestow.

In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit

* The intelligence of the death of Washington had been received the preceding day, and the House immediately adjourned. The next morning Mr Marshall addressed this speech to the house.

the retirement he loved, and, in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute, more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy, which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honor, and our independence.

Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we have seen him, at a time when his reëlection with universal suffrage could not be doubted, afford to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his station to the peaceful walks of private life.

However the public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with respect to others, with respect to him they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

Let us, then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels. For this purpose I hold in my hand some resolutions which I take the liberty of offering to the house.

Resolved, That this house will wait on the President, in condolence of this mournful event.

Resolved, That the Speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the house wear black during the session.

Resolved, That a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens.

LETTER FROM THE SENATE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

23 December, 1799.

SIR,

The Senate of the United States respectfully take leave to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of General George Washington.

This event, so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, Sir, to mingle our tears with

yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to him "who maketh darkness his pavilion."

With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern times are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honor; he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of Heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity. Magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example; his spirit is in Heaven.

Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage. Let them teach their children never to forget, that the fruits of his labors and his example are their inheritance.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

23 December, 1799.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I receive with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret for the loss our country has sustained in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities. I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy

Among all our original associates in that memorable league of this continent, in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother, yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes, to mingle their sorrows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds, who, believing that character and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never blast his honor, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory; for his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal; for me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men and the results of their actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me but humble resignation.

His example is now complete; and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

JOHN ADAMS.

JOINT RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

December 23*d*. *Resolved*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the Capitol of the city of Washington, and that the family of General Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

And be it further resolved, That there be a funeral procession from Congress Hall, to the German Lutheran church, in memory of General George Washington, on Thursday the 26th instant, and that an oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both houses that day; and that the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be desired to request one of the members of Congress to prepare and deliver the same.

And be it further resolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

And be it further resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear for her person and character, of their condolence on the late afflicting dispensation of Providence; and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General Washington in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the recommendation contained in the third resolution.

December 30th. Resolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble, on the twenty-second day of February next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief for the death of General George Washington, by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayers.

And it is further resolved, That the President be requested to issue a proclamation, for the purpose of carrying the foregoing resolution into effect.

No. IV.

CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON;

DESIGNED FOR A MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION.*

WASHINGTON,
The Defender of his Country, the Founder of Liberty,
The Friend of Man.
History and Tradition are explored in vain
For a Parallel to his Character.
In the Annals of modern Greatness,
He stands alone,
And the noblest Names of Antiquity
Lose their Lustre in his Presence.
Born the Benefactor of Mankind,
He united all the Qualities necessary
To an Illustrious Career.
Nature made him Great,
He made himself Virtuous.
Called by his Country to the Defence of her Liberties,
He triumphantly vindicated the Rights of Humanity,
And on the Pillars of National Independence
Laid the Foundations of a Great Republic.
Twice invested with Supreme Magistracy
By the Unanimous Voice of a Free People,
He surpassed in the Cabinet
The Glories of the Field,
And, voluntarily resigning the Sceptre and the Sword
Retired to the Shades of Private Life.
A Spectacle so new and so sublime
Was contemplated with the profoundest Admiration;
And the Name of WASHINGTON,
Adding new Lustre to Humanity,
Resounded to the remotest Regions of the Earth.
Magnanimous in Youth,
Glorious through Life,
Great in Death,
His highest Ambition the Happiness of Mankind,
His noblest Victory the Conquest of himself,
Bequeathing to Posterity the Inheritance of his Fame,
And building his Monument in the Hearts of his Countrymen,
He lived the Ornament of the Eighteenth Century,
He died regretted by a mourning World.

* The author of this composition is not known. It has been transcribed from a manuscript copy, written on the back of a picture-frame, in which is set a miniature likeness of Washington, and which hangs in one of the rooms of the mansion at Mount Vernon, having been left there some time after Washington's death.

No. V.

WASHINGTON'S WILL.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

I, George Washington, of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States, and lately President of the same, do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand, and every page thereof subscribed with my name,* to be my last Will and Testament, revoking all others.

Imprimis. — All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid, and the legacies, herein after bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item. — To my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Washington*, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever; as I also do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

Item. — Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves whom I hold *in my own right* shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some, who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and others, who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all, who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter descrip-

* In the original manuscript, George Washington's name was written at the bottom of every page.

tion as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and, in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said Commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do, moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivors of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it; not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals. And to my mulatto man, *William*, calling himself *William Lee*, I give immediate freedom, or, if he should prefer it, (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking, or of any active employment,) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so; in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars, during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chooses the last alternative; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first; and this I give him, as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the revolutionary war.

Item. — To the trustees (governors, or by whatsoever other name they may be designated) of the Academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, four thousand dollars, or in other words, twenty of the shares which I hold in the Bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free school, established at, and annexed to, the said Academy, for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons, as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who, in the judgment of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid twenty shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity; the dividends only

of which are to be drawn for and applied, by the said trustees for the time being, for the uses above mentioned; the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof, should render a removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these twenty shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the thousand pounds given by a missive letter some years ago, in consequence whereof an annuity of fifty pounds has since been paid towards the support of this institution.

Item. — Whereas by a law of the Commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the Legislature thereof was pleased, as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the Revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation under legislative patronage, to present me with one hundred shares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated Company, established for the purpose of extending the navigation of James River from the tide water to the mountains; and also with fifty shares, of £100 sterling each, in the corporation of another Company, likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the River Potomac from the tide water to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honorable and grateful to my feelings, was refused, as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and had never departed from, viz. not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights, and because I had evaded similar propositions from other States in the Union; adding to this refusal, however, an intimation, that, if it should be the pleasure of the legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to *public uses*, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to, in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law, and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honorable manner; — I proceed after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare; that, as it has always been a source of serious regret with me, to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting too frequently, not

only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome; for these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and State prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation), my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure, than the establishment of a UNIVERSITY in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof may be sent for the completion of their education, in all the branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and, as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment, by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country. Under these impressions, so fully dilated,

Item. — I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac company, (under the aforesaid acts of the Legislature of Virginia,) towards the endowment of a University, to be established within the limits of the district of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and, until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the Bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the Treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress, provided that honorable body should patronize the measure; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on, until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained; of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by the legislative authority, or from any other source.

Item. — The hundred shares, which I hold in the James River Company, I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity, to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in the County of Rockbridge, in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Item. — I release, exonerate, and discharge the estate of my deceased brother, *Samuel Washington*, from the payment of the money which is due to me for the land I sold to *Philip Pendleton*, (lying in the county of Berkeley,) who assigned the same to him, the said *Samuel*, who by agreement was to pay me therefor. And whereas, by some contract (the purport of which was never communicated to me) between the said *Samuel* and his son, *Thornton Washington*, the latter became possessed of the aforesaid land, without any conveyance having passed from me, either to the said *Pendleton*, the said *Samuel*, or the said *Thornton*, and without any consideration having been made, by which neglect neither the legal nor equitable title has been alienated; it rests therefore with me to declare my intentions concerning the premises; and these are, to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said *Thornton Washington* (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs for ever, if he died intestate; exonerating the estate of the said *Thornton*, equally with that of the said *Samuel*, from payment of the purchase money, which, with interest, agreeably to the original contract with the said *Pendleton*, would amount to more than a thousand pounds. And whereas two other sons of my said deceased brother *Samuel*, namely, *George Steptoe Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, were, by the decease of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and, in consequence, have occasioned advances on my part, for their education at college and other schools, for their board, clothing, and other incidental expenses, to the amount of near five thousand dollars, over and above the sums furnished by their estate, which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund; I do for these reasons acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof, my intention being, that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

Item. — The balance due to me from the estate of *Bartholomew Dandridge*, deceased, (my wife's brother,) and which amounted on the first day of October, 1795, to four hundred and twenty-five pounds, (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, *John Dandridge*, who was the acting executor of his father's will,) I release and acquit from the payment thereof. And the negroes, then thirty-three in number, formerly belonging to the said estate,

who were taken in execution, sold, and purchased in on my account, in the year *(blank)*, and ever since have remained in the possession and to the use of *Mary*, widow of the said *Bartholomew Dandridge*, with their increase, it is my will and desire shall continue and be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life; at the expiration of which, I direct that all of them who are forty years old and upwards shall receive their freedom; and all under that age, and above sixteen, shall serve seven years and no longer; and all under sixteen years shall serve until they are twenty-five years of age, and then be free. And, to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of these negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgment thereof, in this relation, shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same. And I further direct, that the heirs of the said *Bartholomew Dandridge* shall equally share the benefits arising from the services of the said negroes, according to the tenor of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.

Item. — If *Charles Carter*, who intermarried with my niece, *Betty Lewis*, is not sufficiently secured in the title to the lots he had of me in the town of Fredericksburg, it is my will and desire, that my executors shall make such conveyances of them as the law requires to render it perfect.

Item. — To my nephew, *William Augustine Washington*, and his heirs, (if he should conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting,) a lot in the town of Manchester, (opposite to Richmond,) No. 265, drawn on my sole account, and also the tenth of one or two hundred acre lots, and two or three half-acre lots, in the city and vicinity of Richmond, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the lottery of the deceased *William Byrd*, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of *John Hood*, conveyed by *William Willie* and *Samuel Gordon*, trustees of the said *John Hood*, numbered 139, in the town of Edinburgh, in the County of Prince George, State of Virginia.

Item. — To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country. I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

Item. — Having sold lands which I possessed in the State of

Pennsylvania, and part of a tract held in equal right with *George Clinton*, late governor of New York, in the State of New York, my share of land and interest in the Great Dismal Swamp, and a tract of land which I owned in the County of Gloucester, — withholding the legal titles thereto, until the consideration money should be paid, — and having moreover leased and conditionally sold (as will appear by the tenor of the said leases) all my lands upon the Great Kenhawa, and a tract upon Difficult Run, in the County of Loudoun, it is my will and direction, that whensoever the contracts are fully and respectively complied with, according to the spirit, true intent, and meaning thereof, on the part of the purchasers, their heirs or assigns, that then, and in that case, conveyances are to be made, agreeably to the terms of the said contracts, and the money arising therefrom, when paid, to be vested in bank stock; the dividends whereof, as of that also which is already vested therein, are to inure to my said wife during her life; but the stock itself is to remain and be subject to the general distribution hereafter directed.

Item. — To the *Earl of Buchan* I recommit the "Box made of the Oak that sheltered the great Sir *William Wallace*, after the battle of Falkirk," presented to me by his Lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request "to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country, who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me." Whether easy or not to select the man, who might comport with his Lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but, conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmiths' Company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me, I do give and bequeath the same to his Lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honor of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favorable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

Item. — To my brother, *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath the gold-headed cane left me by Dr. *Franklin* in his will. I add nothing to it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, *Lawrence Washington* and *Robert Washington*, of Chotanck, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them; and to each, as they will be useful where they live, I leave one of the spyglasses, which constituted part of my equipage during

the late war. To my compatriot in arms, and old and intimate friend, Dr. *Craik*, I give my bureau (or, as the cabinet-makers call it, tambour secretary) and the circular chair, an appendage of my study. To Dr. *David Stuart* I give my large shaving and dressing table, and my telescope. To the Reverend, now *Bryan, Lord Fairfax*, I give a Bible, in three large folio volumes, with notes, presented to me by the Right Reverend *Thomas Wilson*, Bishop of Sodor and Man. To General *de Lafayette* I give a pair of finely-wrought steel pistols, taken from the enemy in the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law, *Hannah Washington* and *Mildred Washington*, to my friends, *Eleanor Stuart*, *Hannah Washington*, of Fairfield, and *Elizabeth Washington*, of Hayfield, I give each a mourning ring, of the value of one hundred dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementos of my esteem and regard. To *Tobias Lear* I give the use of the farm, which he now holds in virtue of a lease from me to him and his deceased wife, (for and during their natural lives,) free from rent during his life; at the expiration of which, it is to be disposed of as is hereinafter directed. To *Sally B. Haynie*, (a distant relation of mine,) I give and bequeath three hundred dollars. To *Sarah Green*, daughter of the deceased *Thomas Bishop*, and to *Ann Walker*, daughter of *John Alton*, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me; each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family. To each of my nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *George Lewis*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, and *Samuel Washington*, I give one of the swords, or couteaux, of which I may die possessed; and they are to choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

And now, having gone through these specific devises, with explanations for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important parts of my estate, in manner following;

First. — To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, and his heirs, (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father, while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services in the former war between Great Britain and France, that, if I should fall therein,

Mount Vernon, then less extensive in domain than at present, should become his property,) I give and bequeath all that part thereof, which is comprehended within the following limits, viz. Beginning at the ford of Dogue Run, near my Mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes, and ever has gone, since my recollection of it, to the ford of Little Hunting Creek, at the Gum Spring, until it comes to a knoll opposite to an old road, which formerly passed through the lower field of Muddy-Hole Farm; at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks, marked as a corner, and a stone placed; thence by a line of trees, to be marked rectangular, to the back line or outer boundary of the tract between *Thompson Mason* and myself; thence with that line easterly (now double ditching, with a post-and-rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Hunting Creek; thence with that run, which is the boundary between the lands of the late *Humphrey Peake* and me, to the tide water of the said creek; thence by that water to Potomac River; thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue Creek; and thence with the said Dogue Creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford; containing upwards of four thousand acres, be the same more or less, together with the mansion-house, and all other buildings and improvements thereon.

Second. — In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related to her as to myself, as on account of the affection I had for, and the obligation I was under to, their father when living, who from his youth had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late Revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendence of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable for me to do it myself, thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful; for these reasons, I say, I give and bequeath to *George Fayette Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, and their heirs, my estate east of Little Hunting Creek, lying on the River Potomac, including the farm of three hundred and sixty acres, leased to *Tobias Lear*, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty-seven acres, be it more or less; which said estate it is my will and desire should be equitably and advantageously divided between them, according to quantity, quality, and other circumstances, when the youngest shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, by three judicious and disinterested men; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the mean time, if the ter-

mination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefit.

THIRD. — And whereas it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grandchildren of my wife in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them; more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy, namely, *Eleanor Parke Custis* and *George Washington Parke Custis;* and whereas the former of these hath lately intermarried with *Lawrence Lewis*, a son of my deceased sister, *Betty Lewis*, by which union the inducement to provide for them both has been increased; wherefore I give and bequeath to the said *Lawrence Lewis*, and *Eleanor Parke Lewis*, his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate, not already devised to my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, comprehended within the following description, viz. All the land north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue Run to the Gum Spring, as described in the devise of the other part of the tract to *Bushrod Washington*, until it comes to the stone and three red or Spanish oaks on the knoll; thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between Mr. *Mason* and me); thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue Run, by the tumbling dam of my Mill; thence with the said run to the ford aforementioned. To which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue Run and Dogue Creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereby; together with the mill, distillery, and all other houses and improvements on the premises, making together about two thousand acres, be it more or less.

FOURTH. — Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath to *George Washington Parke Custis*, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four Mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing one thousand two hundred acres, more or less, and my entire square, No. 21, in the city of Washington.

FIFTH. — All the rest and residue of my estate real and personal, not disposed of in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and whensoever found, (a schedule of which, as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed,) I desire may be sold by my executors, at such times, in such manner, and on such credits, (if an equal, valid, and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without,) as in their judgment shall be most conducive to the interest of the parties concerned; and the moneys arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, and applied as follows, viz. To *William Augustine Washington*,

Elizabeth Spotswood, *Jane Thornton*, and the heirs of *Ann Ashton*, sons and daughters of my deceased brother, *Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath four parts; that is, one part to each of them. To *Fielding Lewis*, *George Lewis*, *Robert Lewis*, *Howell Lewis*, and *Betty Carter*, sons and daughters of my deceased sister, *Betty Lewis*, I give and bequeath five other parts; one to each of them. To *George Steptoe Washington*, *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, *Harriot Parks*, and the heirs of *Thornton Washington*, sons and daughters of my deceased brother *Samuel Washington*, I give and bequeath other four parts; one to each of them. To *Corbin Washington*, and the heirs of *Jane Washington*, son and daughter of my deceased brother, *John Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath two parts; one to each of them. To *Samuel Washington*, *Frances Ball*, and *Mildred Hammond*, son and daughters of my brother *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath three parts; one part to each of them. And to *George Fayette Washington*, *Charles Augustine Washington*, and *Maria Washington*, sons and daughter of my deceased nephew, *George Augustine Washington*, I give one other part; that is, to each a third of that part. To *Elizabeth Parke Law*, *Martha Parke Peter*, and *Eleanor Parke Lewis*, I give and bequeath three other parts; that is, a part to each of them. And to my nephews, *Bushrod Washington* and *Lawrence Lewis*, and to my ward, the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part; that is, a third thereof to each of them. And, if it should so happen, that any of the persons whose names are here enumerated (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased person shall, notwithstanding, derive all the benefits of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time. And, by way of advice, I recommend it to my executors not to be precipitate in disposing of the landed property, (herein directed to be sold,) if from temporary causes the sale thereof should be dull; experience having fully evinced, that the price of land, especially above the falls of the river and on the western waters, has been progressively rising, and cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the legatees (under this clause of my will), as can make it convenient, to take each a share of my stock in the Potomac Company, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for; being thoroughly convinced myself, that no uses to which the money can be applied, will be so productive as the tolls arising from this navigation when in full operation, (and thus, from the nature of things, it must be, ere long,) and more especially if that of the Shenandoah is added thereto.

The family vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Enclosure, on the ground which is marked out; in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations, (now in the old vault), and such others of my family as may choose to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire, that my corpse may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

LASTLY, I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Washington*, my nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Samuel Washington*, and *Lawrence Lewis*, and my ward, *George Washington Parke Custis*, (when he shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years), executrix and executors of this my will and testament; in the construction of which it will be readily perceived, that no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency in the draft; and that, although it has occupied many of my leisure hours to digest, and to throw it into its present form, it may, notwithstanding, appear crude and incorrect; but, having endeavoured to be plain and explicit in all the devises, even at the expense of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and trust that no disputes will arise concerning them. But if, contrary to expectation, the case should be otherwise, from the want of legal expressions, or the usual technical terms, or because too much or too little has been said on any of the devises to be consonant with law, my will and direction expressly is, that all disputes (if unhappily any should arise) shall be decided by three impartial and intelligent men, known for their probity and good understanding; two to be chosen by the disputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by those two; which three men, thus chosen, shall, unfettered by law or legal constructions, declare their sense of the testator's intention; and such decision is, to all intents and purposes, to be as binding on the parties as if it had been given in the Supreme Court of the United States.

In witness of all and of each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal, this ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States the twenty-fourth.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* It appears that the testator omitted the word "nine."

SCHEDULE OF PROPERTY

Comprehended in the foregoing Will, which is directed to be sold; and some of it conditionally is sold; with descriptive and explanatory Notes relative thereto.

IN VIRGINIA.

	Acres.	Price. Dollars.	Dollars.	
Loudoun County, Difficult Run,	300		6,666	*a*
Loudoun and Fauquier, Ashby's Bent,	2481	10	24,810	*b*
Chattin's Run,	885	8	7,080	
Berkeley, South Fork of Bullskin,	1600			
Head of Evans's M.,	453			
In Wormeley's Line,	183			
	2236	20	44,720	*c*
Frederic, bought from Mercer,	571	20	11,420	*d*
Hampshire, on Potomac River, above B.,	240	15	3,600	*e*
Gloucester, on North River,	400	about	3,600	*f*
Nansemond, near Suffolk, one third of 1119 acres,	373	8	2,984	*g*
Great Dismal Swamp, my dividend thereof,		about	20,000	*h*
Ohio River, Round Bottom,	587			
Little Kenhawa,	2314			
Sixteen miles lower down,	2448			
Opposite Big Bent,	4395			
	9744	10	97,440	*i*
Great Kenhawa,				
Near the mouth, west,	10990			
East side, above,	7276			
Mouth of Cole River,	2000			
Opposite thereto, 2950				
Burning Spring, 125				
	3075			
			200,000	*k*

MARYLAND.

Charles County,	600	6	3,600	*l*
Montgomery County,	519	12	6,228	*m*

PENNSYLVANIA.

Great Meadows,	234	6	1,404	*n*

NEW YORK.

	Acres.	Price.	Dollars.	
Mohawk River,	about 1000	6	6,000	*o*

NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

On Little Miami,	839			
Ditto,	977			
Ditto,	1235			
	3051	5	15,255	*p*

KENTUCKY.

Rough Creek,	3000			
Ditto, adjoining,	2000			
	5000	2	10,000	*q*

LOTS.

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

Two near the Capitol, Square 634, cost 963 dollars, and with buildings,	15,000	*r*
Nos. 5, 12, 13, and 14, the last three water lots on the Eastern Branch, in Square 667, containing together 34,438 square feet, at 12 cents,	4,132	*s*

ALEXANDRIA.

Corner of Pitt and Prince streets, half an acre, laid out into building lots, three or four of which are let on ground rent, at three dollars per foot,	4,000	*t*

WINCHESTER.

A lot in the town, of half an acre, and another on the common, of about six acres, supposed,	400	*u*

BATH, OR WARM SPRINGS.

Two well-situated and handsome buildings, to the amount of £150,	800	*v*

STOCK.

United States 6 per cent.		3,746		
Ditto, deferred,	1,873			
Ditto, 3 per cent.	2,946			
		2,500		
			6,246	*w*

	Dollars.	
Potomac Company, 24 shares, cost each £100 sterling,	10,666	*x*
James River Company, 5 shares, each cost 100 dollars,	500	*y*
Bank of Columbia, 170 shares, 40 dollars each,	6,800	*z*
Bank of Alexandria,	1,000	
Besides 20 shares in the free school — 5.		

STOCK LIVING.

One covering horse, 5 carriage horses, 4 riding horses, 6 brood mares, 20 working horses and mares, 2 covering jacks and 3 young ones, 10 she-asses, 42 working mules, 15 younger ones, 329 head of horned cattle, 640 head of sheep, and a large stock of hogs, the precise number unknown. ☞ My manager has estimated this live stock at £7000; but I shall set it down, in order to make a round sum, at	15,653
Aggregate amount,	$530,000

NOTES.

(*a*) THIS tract, for the size of it, is valuable, more for its situation than the quality of its soil; though that is good for farming, with a considerable proportion of ground that might very easily be improved into meadow. It lies on the great road from the city of Washington, Alexandria, and Georgetown, to Leesburgh and Winchester, at Difficult Bridge, nineteen miles from Alexandria, less from the city of Georgetown, and not more than three from Matildaville, at the Great Falls of Potomac. There is a valuable seat on the premises, and the whole is conditionally sold for the sum annexed in the schedule.

(*b*) What the selling prices of lands in the vicinity of these two tracts are, I know not; but, compared with those above the Ridge, and others below them, the value annexed will appear moderate; a less one would not obtain them from me.

(*c*) The surrounding land, not superior in soil, situation, or properties of any sort, sells currently at from twenty to thirty dollars an acre. The lowest price is affixed to these.

(*d*) The observations made in the last note apply equally to this tract; being in the vicinity of them, and of similar quality, although it lies in another county.

(*e*) This tract, though small, is extremely valuable. It lies on Potomac River, about twelve miles above the town of Bath, or Warm Springs, and is in the shape of a horseshoe; the river running almost around it. Two hundred acres of it are rich low grounds, with a great abundance of the largest and finest walnut trees; which, with the produce of the soil, might (by means of the improved navigation of the Potomac) be brought to a shipping port with more ease, and at a smaller expense, than that which is transported thirty miles only by land

(*f*) This tract is of second-rate Gloucester low ground. It has no improvements thereon, but lies on navigable water, abounding in fish and oysters. It was received in payment of a debt, (carrying interest,) and valued in the year 1789, by an impartial gentleman, at £800. N. B. It has lately been sold, and there is due thereon a balance, equal to what is annexed in the schedule.

(*g*) These 373 acres are the third part of an undivided purchase made by the deceased Fielding Lewis, Thomas Walker, and myself, on full conviction that they would become valuable. The land lies on the road from Suffolk and Norfolk, touches (if I am not mistaken) some part of the navigable water of Nansemond River. The rich Dismal Swamp is capable of great improvement, and from its situation must become extremely valuable.

(*h*) This is an undivided interest, which I hold in the Great Dismal Swamp Company, containing about 4000 acres, with my part of the plantation and stock thereon, belonging to the Company in the said swamp.

(*i*) These several tracts of land are of the first quality, on the Ohio River, in the parts where they are situated; being almost, if not altogether, river bottoms. The smallest of these tracts is actually sold at ten dollars an acre, but the consideration therefor not received. The rest are equally valuable, and sold as high; especially that which lies just below the Little Kenhawa, and is opposite to a thick settlement on the west side of the river. The four tracts have an aggregate breadth upon the river of sixteen miles, and are bounded thereby for that distance.

(*k*) These tracts are situated on the Great Kenhawa River, and the first four are bounded thereby for more than forty miles. It is acknowledged by all who have seen them, (and of the tract containing 10,990 acres, which I have been on myself, I can assert,) that there is no richer or more valuable land in all that region. They are conditionally sold for the sum mentioned in the schedule, that is, 200,000 dollars; and, if the terms of that sale are not complied with, they will command considerably more. The tract, of which the 125 acres is a moiety, was taken up by General Andrew Lewis and myself, for and on account of a bituminous spring which it contains, of so inflammable a nature as to burn as freely as spirits, and is nearly as difficult to extinguish.

(*l*) I am but little acquainted with this land, although I have once been on it. It was received (many years since) in discharge of a debt to me from Daniel Jenifer Adams, at the value annexed thereto, and must be worth more. It is very level; lies near the river Potomac.

(*m*) This tract lies about thirty miles above the city of Washington, not far from Kittoctan. It is good farming land; and, by those who are well acquainted with it, I am informed that it would sell at twelve or fifteen dollars per acre.

(*n*) This land is valuable on account of its local situation, and other properties. It affords an exceeding good stand on Braddock's Road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburg, and, besides a fertile soil, possesses a large quantity of natural meadow, fit for the scythe. It is distinguished by the appellation of the Great Meadows, where the first action with the French in 1754 was fought.

(*o*) This is the moiety of about 2000 acres, which remains unsold of 6071 acres on the Mohawk River, (Montgomery County,) in a patent granted to Daniel Coxe, in the township of Coxborough and Carolina, as will appear by deed from Marinus Willett and wife to George Clinton, late governor of New York, and myself. The latter sales have been at six dollars an acre, and what remains unsold will fetch that or more.

(*p*) The quality of these lands, and their situations, may be known by the

surveyor's certificates, which are filed along with the patents. They lie in the vicinity of Cincinnati; one tract near the mouth of the Little Miami; another seven, and the third ten miles up the same. I have been informed that they will command more than they are estimated at.

(*q*) For the description of these tracts in detail, see General Spotswood's letters, filed with the other papers relating to them. Besides the general good quality of the land, there is a valuable bank of iron ore thereon, which, when the settlement becomes more populous, (and settlers are moving that way very fast,) will be found very valuable, as the Rough Creek, a branch of Green River, affords ample water for furnaces and forges.

LOTS.

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

(*r*) The two lots near the Capitol, in square 634, cost me 963 dollars only. But in this price I was favored, on condition that I should build two brick houses, three stories high each. Without this reduction, the selling prices of those lots would have cost me about 1350 dollars. These lots, with the buildings thereon, when completed, will stand me in 15,000 dollars at least.

(*s*) Lots Nos. 5, 12, 13, and 14, on the Eastern Branch, are advantageously situated on the water; and, although many lots, much less convenient, have sold a great deal higher, I will rate these at 12 cents the square foot only.

ALEXANDRIA.

(*t*) For this lot, though unimproved, I have refused 3500 dollars. It has since been laid out into proper sized lots for building on; three or four of which are let on ground rent for ever, at three dollars a foot on the street, and this price is asked for both fronts on Pitt and Prince streets.

WINCHESTER.

(*u*) As neither the lot in the town or common have any improvements on them, it is not easy to fix a price; but, as both are well situated, it is presumed that the price annexed to them in the schedule is a reasonable valuation.

BATH.

(*v*) The lots in Bath (two adjoining) cost me, to the best of my recollection, between fifty and sixty pounds, twenty years ago; and the buildings thereon, one hundred and fifty pounds more. Whether property there has increased or decreased in its value, and in what condition the houses are, I am ignorant; but suppose they are not valued too high.

STOCK.

(*w*) These are the sums which are actually funded; and though no more in the aggregate than 7566 dollars, stand me in at least ten thousand pounds, Virginia money; being the amount of bonded and other debts due to me, and discharged during the war, when money had depreciated in that rate, — ☞ and was so settled by public authority.

(*x*) The value annexed to these shares is what they have actually cost me, and is the price affixed by law; and, although the present selling price is under par, my advice to the legatees (for whose benefit they are intended, especially those who can afford to lie out of the money,) is, that each should take and hold one; there being a moral certainty of a great and increasing profit arising from them in the course of a few years.

(*y*) It is supposed that the shares in the James River Company must be productive. But of this I can give no decided opinion, for want of more accurate information.

(*z*) These are the nominal prices of the shares in the Banks of Alexandria and Columbia; the selling prices vary according to circumstances; but, as the stocks usually divide from eight to ten per cent per annum, they must be worth the former, at least, so long as the banks are conceived to be secure, although from circumstances they may sometimes be below it.

The value of the live stock depends more upon the quality than quantity of the different species of it, and this again upon the demand, and judgment or fancy of purchasers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Mount Vernon, July 9, 1799.

END OF VOL. I.

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